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J. K. Newman, *Editor*

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STUDIES IN HONOR OF
JOHN LEWIS HELLER

JOHN LEWIS HELLER
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Preface

The current issue of *Illinois Classical Studies* is dedicated to Dr. John Lewis Heller, Professor Emeritus of the Classics at the University of Illinois and, from 1949-1966, Head of Department. A portrait will be found at the front of this volume, and a *vita* and list of publications at the end.

John Heller's patience and self-effacing kindliness are known to us all. Called from Minnesota in 1949, following the shock of W. A. Oldfather's untimely death, he guided the Department during one of its most brilliant periods. His role as *maieutikos* and mentor in this renaissance of our studies both on and off campus was fittingly recognized at the national level in 1966 by his election as President of the American Philological Association.

Since his retirement, he has characteristically been busier than ever, and at long last has found time for the publication of his eagerly expected major works on Linnaeus, a fine example in our age of cross-disciplinary research! His gracious wife Suzanne has supported him over the years in bearing all the burdens of his calling and offices. The Department here and scholars from across the country and world join in saluting their honored colleague. *Ad multos annos!*

With this issue, the editorship of *Illinois Classical Studies* passes from its founder, Professor Miroslav Marcovich. The new editor takes this opportunity of expressing the inadequate thanks of the Department of the Classics for Professor Marcovich's heroic labors in our day in the service of classical scholarship. No one who has not wrestled with problems of finance, format, presentation, balanced contributions, editing, can fully appreciate the delicacy, subtlety, calm as well as firmness and bold resolution which Professor Marcovich has brought to his task. The seven numbers over which he has presided and the continuing lively growth of our journal will be his testimonial. *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*

Preface

The incoming Responsible Editor would like to acknowledge the help of his Advisory Committee, Professors Bright, Browne, Jacobson and Gotoff. The reader will notice that a change has been made to a different format, thanks to the use of the UNIX* computerized typesetting system. Our typist has shown energy and determination in coping with a new keyboard. Frances Stickney Newman has devoted countless hours to the complex problems of formatting and presentation of demanding texts. Without her assistance this whole project would have been unthinkable. Timely advice was always forthcoming from Mr. Edmund DeWan of the Computing Services Office, University of Illinois; special thanks are also offered to Debbie Hudson and Darlene Hawkins for keeping the project moving. Professor Brian Dutton of the Department of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese offered help at crucial moments.

Dr. William Plater, Associate Director of the School of Humanities, inspired our metamorphosis and deserves particularly warm thanks for his generous support and advocacy of the new technology. His aid has been indispensable.

These changes are meant to serve a purpose. It is not for nothing that the professorship of Latin is, in certain Scottish universities, still known as the professorship of Humanity: and certainly the greatest humanist whom the new Editor had the privilege of encountering as a student was also a Latinist, Eduard Fraenkel. Just as Ennius was interpreted as speaking of himself when he described the friend of Geminus Servilius, so Fraenkel may be thought to have reflected his own deepest ideals when he described Wilamowitz:

> Nor are there here (nor, for that matter, in anything that Wilamowitz wrote) any departmental barriers. For him there was no such thing as a watertight compartment of textual criticism, another of historical grammar, another of metre, another of history of religion, another of ancient law, and so forth. No single subsection of the technique of research was allowed to get the better of the rest: they had all to be subservient and to co-operate to one purpose only, the adequate interpretation of the text in hand.

These names are rightly and fittingly placed at the threshold of this new issue. When we forget their universality, we forget what makes our studies humane. *Nisi ad regulam, prava non corriges.*

J. K. Newman

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*UNIX is a Trademark of Bell Laboratories.

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Some reflections on the 'penultimate' accent

W. SIDNEY ALLEN

Languages with fixed stress accents display a variety of positional rules. The initial syllable is stressed, for example, in Icelandic, Gaelic, Czech and Hungarian; the second syllable in some Amerindian languages; the final syllable in Armenian and many Turkic languages; the penultimate syllable in Welsh, Polish, and generally in the Bantu languages; the antepenultimate in Macedonian. Some languages show varying degrees of departure from the norm (generally connected with grammatical factors); and, as even the above selection illustrates, the rules may differ within a genetic group, thus implying changes of rule within the history of a given language. In Armenian also internal evidence points to an earlier penultimate stress.[1]

In some other languages the position of the accent, though fixed, is subject to more complex rules, and Latin is a well-known example of this type. Although it is commonly referred to as the 'penultimate' rule, the penultimate syllable is in fact only stressed (in words of more than two syllables[2]) if it is heavy, that is, if the syllable contains a long vowel or has a closing consonant, as *re.lā́.tus* or *re.féc.tus:* otherwise the stress falls on the antepenultimate, whether heavy or light, as *nṓ.mi.na, cór.po.ra, dó.mi.nus* (and for this reason this type of accent will be referred to throughout as 'penultimate' in quotation marks). By this rule the final syllable is never stressed, and indeed its non-involvement may be seen as even more completely exclusive. The condition for the accentuation of a light (antepenultimate) syllable in Latin is that it must be followed by a light; the fact that a light

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[1] On Celtic and on Balto-Slavic cf. J. Kuryłowicz, *Problèmes de linguistique indo-européenne* (Wrocław 1977), pp. 219 note 62, 223 ff.

[2] Disyllables require special consideration, and might best be treated in the context of a theory mentioned in the following note.

penultimate is not stressed even if the final is light (e.g. *facile*) could therefore be interpreted to mean that the final not only is itself unaccentable but also may not participate in the accentual environment.[3]

The few exceptions to the non-accentuation of the final syllable result from historical shortenings by contraction, syncope, or apocope of words in which the accent was formerly penultimate: thus e.g. *audíuit > audít, fūmáuit > fūmát, nostrátis > nostrás, tantó-ne > tantón, illíce > illíc, illi nce > illi nc* (cf. Priscian, 2. 128-30; 3. 528 Keil).[4] The result in all such cases is that the stressed final syllable ends with a long vowel plus a consonant ($\bar{v}c$) or a short vowel plus two consonants ($\breve{v}cc$).

The 'weakening' of vowels in non-initial syllables in Latin is generally agreed to reflect a prehistoric initial stress accent, shared with other Italic dialects, and it is possible that the historic accent first arose in a secondary role. But, whatever its origin, the attested system, governed by the 'penultimate' rule, was fully established in its primary role by the classical period. What is remarkable about this system is that, in spite of its relative complexity as compared with many others, it is found, with minor variations, in certain other languages having rather remote or no genetic connections with Latin.

In Old Indo-Aryan a similar system at some stage replaced the inherited pitch accent of Vedic, and the rules differ from those of Latin only to the extent that there is an even greater preference for the stress to be carried by a heavy syllable: thus a light syllable is stressed only if it is initial in a word containing no heavy syllable before the final: e.g. Sanskrit *bharámi, bharánti, bhárati, udvējayatí[5] dúhitaram.*[6] It is as if the accent, starting with the penultimate syllable, 'seeks' a heavy syllable as its carrier, and settles on a light initial only *faute de mieux*. In its progress through the middle (Prakrit) period to the modern languages,

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[3]I have elsewhere suggested (*Vox Latina,* [2nd ed. Cambridge 1978], pp. 91 ff.; cf. also J. Kuryłowicz, "Latin and Germanic Metre," *English and Germanic Studies* 2 [1949], pp. 34 ff., repr. *Esquisses Linguistiques I,* [2nd ed. München 1973], pp. 281 ff.; *Problèmes de linguistique indo-européenne* [above, note 1], pp. 220 ff.) that in Latin two light syllables may form an accentual 'matrix', just as one heavy: in which case in e.g. *facile* the second syllable carries the coda of the accent (thus *facile* as e.g. *facêtus*), so that in **facile* the final syllable would form part of the matrix. This analysis is not essential to the present discussion (though for Latin it would justify the removal of the quotation marks from 'penultimate').

[4]See M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre,* (München 1977), p. 239.

[5]In Indo-Aryan there is no short *e* or *o;* in Roman transcriptions length of these vowels is therefore not generally indicated: I have however marked it throughout because of its prosodic significance.

Indo-Aryan has undergone a number of consonantal and vocalic 'weakenings', with the result that an earlier antepenultimate stress often comes to stand on the penultimate (e.g. *upadéhikā* 'white ant' > Prakrit *uvadéhī* > Marwari *udéī*) and a penultimate on the final (e.g. Skt. *carmakā́ra-* 'cobbler' > Pkt. *camma(y)ā́ra-* > Hindi *camā́r;* *vyākhyā́na-* 'explanation' > *vakkhā́ṇa-* > *bakhā́n; taravā́ri-* 'sword' > *talvā́r,* etc.).[7] The latter are reminiscent of cases like *fūmā́t* and *illī́c* in Latin; but in Indo-Aryan the examples are much more numerous, and they seem moreover to be more than just historical anomalies. It has been suggested by Hyman[8] that one criterion for the synchronic, 'psychological reality' of a phonological rule might be whether it applied productively to recent loan-words from other languages. In this case it may be significant that in Hindi borrowings from Persian such as *dīvā́n* 'court', *sardā́r* 'officer' the same final stressing of -v̄c applies as in native Hindi words. The sequence -v̄c creates what one could term an 'overweight' syllable, since it contains a consonant in addition to the required v̄. It is thus of interest that the same rule applies to words like *pasánd* 'choice', *daráxt* 'tree', with final -v̆cc, since these also could be regarded as overweight, containing a consonant additional to the required v̆c. It might be argued that in such words it is simply a case of the original Persian accent (normally final) being preserved: but again there are indications that there is more to it than this. For in Persian loans like *kámar* 'waist' the accent has been shifted in accordance with the basic 'penultimate' rule of Hindi, just as also in *hóṭal* from English *hotél;* and in *agást* from Eng. *Áugust* the accent has been shifted in accordance with the overweight-final rule. Similarly, if the Hindi derivative of a penultimately stressed Old Indo-Aryan word, through the process of apocope, would come to have final stress on a *non-*overweight syllable, the accent is shifted accordingly: thus e.g. Skt. *vilámba-* 'delay' > *bílam.*

The accentual rules of classical Arabic[9] seem to have been virtually identical with those of the modern Indo-Aryan languages like

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[6]As opposed to Vedic pitch accentuations *bhárāmi, duhitáram,* etc.

[7]For references to various discussions of the Indo-Aryan stress accent see my *Accent and Rhythm,* (Cambridge 1973), pp. 157 ff.

[8]Larry M. Hyman, *Phonology: Theory and Analysis* (New York 1975), p. 66.

[9]These are in fact reconstructed from the modern dialects, and some Arabists prefer to speak of the 'historic stage common to the dialects' (H. Birkeland, *Stress Patterns in Arabic* [*Avh. Norske Videnskaps-Ak. i Oslo,* II *Hist.-Fil. Kl.,* 1954, no. 3], p. 9) or 'koine' (C. A. Ferguson, Review of Birkeland, *Language* 32 [1956], p. 386): on the modern rules cf. my *Accent and Rhythm* (above, note 7), pp. 157, 165. There is inevitably some diversity of opinion about details of the reconstructed system, but the rules as stated here reflect the most general consensus.

Hindi, including the 'backward seeking'[10] (e.g. *mukátabatun, dárabatak,* like Hindi [and Skt.] *kámalinī,* etc.) and the stressing of overweight finals, as e.g. *kitắb* (thus stressed also as a loan-word in Hindi) or *darábt.* It has been suggested that (pre-pausal) nominal forms like *kitắb* ('book') should be considered as derived (descriptively) from the context form *kitắbu(n),* to which the basic 'penultimate' rule applies. But there are other indications of the validity of the overweight-final rule, similar to those in Indo-Aryan. Words which in classical Arabic end in $\bar{v}$ʔ (long vowel plus glottal stop) in prepausal position lose the stop in modern dialects: the accent then recedes in accordance with the 'penultimate' rule (and the final vowel is shortened): thus e.g. *ṣahrắʔ* 'desert' > *ṣáhra.* And foreign loan-words and names are subject to the overweight-final rule: thus Greek *kanốn*[11] 'rule' > *kānū́n, Iōn-* > *yūnắn* 'Greece', *Plátōn > aflātū́n;*[12] Aristotle *(Aristotélēs)* appears variously as *aristūtālīs, aristūtális,* or in abbreviated form *aristū́.*

The patterns of English accentuation are less readily subject to purely phonological rules, but they show an undoubted similarity to those of Latin, which has often been commented on, as noted by Chomsky and Halle,[13] who themselves refer to "the essential identity of [their approximate rule for English verbs and] the rule governing stress distribution in Latin";[14] even more similar, in their formulation, is the rule for English nouns. But both rules have, as in Arabic and Indo-Aryan, to admit stressing of final syllables when these are overweight, as e.g. in verbal *decíde, collápse* (with final $\bar{v}$c or $\breve{v}$cc) and nominal *machíne, cheróot* (with final $\bar{v}$c). In spite of their heroic attempts to reduce English stress to general rules, there remain very numerous exceptions to Chomsky and Halle's formulations, and there have been many attempts to improve on them. But, as stated by Goyvaerts and Pullum, "there are too many unresolved issues and unexplored possibilities arising out of SPE's third chapter for anyone to be able to have

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[10]Though D. A. Abdo, "Stress and Arabic Phonology" (Diss. University of Illinois, 1969), p. 70, maintains that (as in Latin) it did not recede beyond the antepenultimate.

[11]At the time of borrowing the Greek accent will have been stressed (replacing the classical pitch accent around 300 A.D.); as a corollary, significant vowel length had been lost: vowels in open stressed syllables were longer than others. But there are various distortions in the process of borrowing into Arabic.

[12]I have also encountered this in India as a secondary loan, with the same accentuation (Marwari *aphlātū́n,* in the sense of 'a conceited person').

[13]See N. Chomsky and M. Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English* (New York 1968), p. 59, n. 3.

[14]P. 70, n. 15 (above, note 13).

the last word about English stress for very long.''[15] This opinion is still modestly cited by L. Guierre in his *Essai* of 1979:[16] but the detailed tables provided in that work show up at least a general statistical tendency behind the 'approximate' rule of Chomsky and Halle. Thus, from Tables 72, 77 (pp. 367, 373, with inventories pp. 793 ff.): of non-prefixed disyllables the proportion of final to initial accentuation for words ending in $\breve{v}c$ is 103 : 2905 (= c. 3.4% of total), for words ending in $\breve{v}cc$ 26 : 245 (= c. 9.9%), for words ending in $\bar{v}$ 99 : 359 (= c. 21.6%), and for words ending in $\bar{v}c$ 241 : 336 (= c. 41.8%). Though in no case is final accentuation dominant over initial, the progressive scale of proportions, with $-\bar{v}c$ by far the most susceptible to stress, is interestingly reminiscent of another and apparently quite unconnected scale of statistical tendencies — in Greek epic verse.

By what is known as Naeke's Law[17] diaeresis is avoided after a spondaic fourth foot in the hexameters of Callimachus. In Homer, though there is a strong tendency to this constraint, the rule is much less rigorously observed (though absolute after the fifth foot), and it is the nature of the exceptions (numbering around a thousand), of which the majority are words or combinations of the type $(\breve{})\ \breve{}--$, that is here of interest, with particular reference to the structure of the final syllable before the diaeresis. By far the most common exception here is the overweight type $-\bar{v}c$; relatively common also are words ending in the so-called 'long diphthongs', which could be analyzed as $\bar{v}y$ and so included in the same category. These two types account for over 90% of the exceptions. Very much less common is the occurrence of final $\bar{v}$; and most rare of all in this position are the endings $\breve{v}c$ and $\breve{v}y$ ('short diphthong'), the former being the subject of the so-called 'Wernicke's Law'.[18] The pattern $-\breve{v}cc$ is too rare in Greek to be significant.

The scale of exceptions to Naeke's Law in Homer is thus $-\bar{v}c$ (max.): $-\bar{v}$: $-\breve{v}c$ (min.), the same as for the exceptions to initial accentuation in English non-prefixed disyllables.

The constraints observed by Naeke's Law are presumably connected with rhythmic requirements towards the end of the line, the pre-

[15]D. L. Goyvaerts and G. K. Pullum, edd., *Essays on The Sound Pattern of English* (Ghent 1975), p. 204.

[16]L. Guierre, *Essai sur l'accentuation en anglais contemporain* (Paris 1979), p. 56.

[17]A. F. Naeke, "Callimachi Hecale IV. V," *Rheinisches Museum* 3 (1835), pp. 516 ff.

[18]F. W. Wernicke, ed. *Tryphiodorus* (1819), p. 173; on its statistical significance, however, cf. A. M. Devine and L. Stephens, "The Homeric hexameter and a basic principle of metrical theory," *Classical Philology* 71 (1976), pp. 141 ff.

cise nature of which need not concern us.[19] But an explanation of
Wernicke's Law and of the exceptions to Naeke's Law readily suggests
itself. A word of pattern (◡) ◡ – –   ending in ̆vc (including ̆vy) can be
placed in earlier positions in the line if the next word begins with a
vowel, since the final consonant (or glide) will then, in continuous
speech (and in the most artificial cohesion of the verse-line), open the
following syllable, so that the word will effectively end with ̆v, i.e. with
a light syllable. A word ending in v̄ may also be thus placed by the
principle of 'epic correption' (shortening of final long vowels in hiatus).
But a word of this pattern ending in v̄c (including v̄y) can practically
only be placed at the fourth-foot diaeresis or at the end of the line;[20]
and as Stifler has shown[21] if the end of the line is occupied by another
word of pattern (◡) ◡ – ̆–   , or by a formula characteristic of end posi-
tion (as e.g. ... mōnukhas hippous), the fourth-foot position is virtually
imposed on such words if they are to be used as all. For a word ending
in v̄c will have a heavy final syllable even if (as is usually the case) it is
followed by an initial vowel, since, even after the transfer of the final
consonant to the following initial, the word will still end with v̄ and
therefore with a heavy syllable. One could thus say that words of pat-
tern (◡) ◡ – –   are used in the 'avoided' position only in inverse pro-
portion to their potentialities of occurrence elsewhere. A line such as
Iliad IX. 244 is typical of this principle: *khōomenos ho t' ariston Akhaiōn
ouden eteisas,* illustrating the different treatment of *ariston* (-v̆c) as
◡ – ◡ and *Akhaiōn* (-v̄c) as ◡ – – . What Wernicke's Law says in
effect is that Naeke's Law should not be breached by words like *ariston,*
which can be used in other environments as in this example.

This explanation of the scale of preferences involved in the
exceptions to Naeke's Law, together with the similarity of that scale to
the scale of preferences for the stressing of English final syllables, may
suggest a new look at final stressing in Arabic and modern Indo-Aryan
as well as in English. In both Arabic and e.g. Hindi the type of syllable
required for final accentuation (and favored in the English case) is the
overweight syllable. In languages where the stress rules are linked to
quantity, there is an evident advantage in this requirement, related to
the Greek case examined above. In continuous speech such syllables

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[19]I have discussed this question at length in *Accent and Rhythm* (above, note 7), pp.
283 ff. (with a brief summary in *Vox Graeca* [2nd edn., Cambridge 1974], pp. 120 ff., 161
ff.).

[20]On constraints in earlier positions cf. my *Accent and Rhythm* (above, note 7), p.
291.

[21]T. Stifler, "Das Wernickesche Gesetz und die bukolische Dihärese," *Philologus* 79
(1924), p. 336.

will remain constantly heavy (and so accented) regardless of their environment, i.e. whether the following initial is a consonant or a vowel; whereas, if final stress were permitted on syllables of type -v̆c, the accent would shift according to environment. In Hindi, for example, one might have *bandár jātā hai 'the monkey goes' beside bándar ātā hai 'the monkey comes': whereas no such variation occurs if an accentuation *bandár is excluded. In a word like sardā́r, on the other hand, the final quantity, and so accentuation, is unaffected by environment. The 'penultimate' rule applicable to bándar etc. thus ensures, by its disregard of the final syllable, that this accent will be constant. We could then reinterpret the 'penultimate' and overweight-final rules (excluding the special faute de mieux accentuation of light syllables) in terms of a single rule: stress the last constantly heavy syllable in the word.

We now finally return to Latin, viewing its accentual system in the light of the previous discussion. Here also the 'penultimate' rule precludes syntagmatic variation in continuous speech,[22] and, as we have seen, final accentuation is limited to historical survivals of the type illī́c, illínc, in all of which the final syllable is of overweight structure. But there is no synchronic rule in Latin (or Sanskrit) prescribing final accentuation as in Arabic or modern Indo-Aryan: hónōs, uírtūs, ambā́gēs, fáciēs, prínceps, for example, follow the 'penultimate' rule. But there is evidence even in Latin for a feeling that stress on an overweight syllable (in words like illī́c), though not synchronically prescribed, was more acceptable than stress on other types of final syllable. For when e.g. (nom. / acc.) *calcā́ri underwent apocope to *calcā́r, and the vowel was then regularly shortened before final r, the accent receded to give the attested cálcar; similarly *animā́li > ánimal — both in accordance with the 'penultimate' rule. It might be argued that the apocope in such cases was earlier than in e.g. illī́c(e) and antedated the development of the historical accent: but in addition, when Old Latin aquā́ī contracts to aquae, the stress is áquae and not *aquáe.

It might therefore seem rather odd that the synchronic rules of Latin accentuation exclude the stressing of final overweight syllables; for, as in the other languages discussed, it would be immune to syntagmatic variation. Indeed, a rule which prescribed this might even be seen as having a certain paradigmatic advantage; for in words like honōs, uirtūs, the stress of the nominative singular would then fall on

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the same syllable as in other cases such as *honṓris, honṓribus*. Such forms, however, are relatively few, comprising only some with final *s* (or group containing *s*, as *atrōx, fēlīx, ferēns*), since before other single final consonants long vowels were shortened (cf. *ámŏr / amṓris*, and verbal *ámĕm, ámĕt* beside *amḗs*). In any event some of those with final overweight syllables have light corresponding syllables in other cases, as e.g. *arbṓs / árboris, princeps / príncipis*.

In some anisosyllabic paradigms, as we have seen, the actual rule too involves shifts of accent (cf. also *dominṓrum / dóminīs* and verbal *amā́mus, amā́tis / ámant*); but in others it does not — thus e.g. *árbōs, prínceps* above (cf. also *cī́uium, cī́uibus* as *cī́uēs*, and verbal *fáciunt* as *fácit*). And in all isosyllabic forms the 'penultimate' rule ensures that the accent is constant: thus e.g. *dóminōs, dóminīs* as *dóminō, dóminī*, where an overweight-final rule would require **dominṓs, *dominī́s;* similarly verbal *ámās, ámant* as *ámō, ámat,* where the final rule would require **amā́s, *amánt* (in the few historical survivals like *illī́c, nostrā́s* no paradigmatic variation is involved).

One hesitates to suggest reasons for linguistic rules, but it remains an observable fact that in a relatively highly inflected language like Latin (or Sanskrit) an overweight-final stress rule would have more disadvantages than advantages. This does not apply in the same way to Arabic or modern Indo-Aryan (or, of course, to English). In Hindi, for example, the only case / number inflexions of *camā́r* (masc.) are voc. plur. *camā́rō*, oblique plur. *camā́rõ*[23] and of *talvā́r* (fem.) direct plur. *talvā́rē*, obl. plur. *talvā́rõ* (likewise the borrowed *kitā́b, kitā́bē, kitā́bõ*), with no accentual shifting. Similar considerations apply to the verb; a root such as *nikā́l* 'take out' has a number of inflexional endings, as *-nā̄, -tā̄, -ā̄, -ē, -ẽ, -ī̄, -í, -ō̄, -ū̄, -iyē:* but none of these involves a shift of accent (thus e.g. fem. sing. past *nikā́lī̄*, polite imper. *nikā́liyē*); only in the future is there an inevitable shift (e.g. *nikālḗgī*). In the singular of the Arabic noun the accent is likewise invariable: e.g. nom. *kitā́bu(n)*, acc. *kitā́ba(n)*, gen. *kitā́bi(n)* beside pre-pausal *kitā́b* (plural and verbal forms in Arabic are not comparable because of the characteristic 'internal' flexion applying to many of these).

It was noted earlier that in Latin the final syllable, apart from its own non-accentuation, does not participate in the accentual environment. It will readily be seen that, if it did so participate, this too could result in syntagmatically variable stress, of the type **domínus* before an initial vowel beside *dóminus* before an initial consonant (since the final syllable would here be heavy and therefore the preceding light syllable

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[23] ~ indicates nasalization.

could not be stressed); it would thus have a similar result to that of permitting stress on final -v̆c syllables.

The 'penultimate' accent, as we have seen, occurs with remarkably similar rules in a variety of languages — all of them imposing some quantitative constraints on the accent (and all incidentally possessing significant distinctions of vowel length). One would not immediately think of such an accent, with its relatively complex rules, as a 'natural' independent choice in various languages, in the way that one might so think of, say, an absolutely initial or final accent.[24] And the kind of constraints applicable to the final accentuation where it does occur in the 'penultimate-rule' languages could possibly be interpreted as indicating that final stress is in some sense the 'target', the achievement of which is beset with difficulties for languages of this type (syntagmatic difficulties in all of them, but also paradigmatic in the more highly inflected). In speaking of 'difficulties' one is admittedly begging the question of the 'undesirability' of syntagmatically, and to some extent paradigmatically, variable accentuation.[25] With regard to the latter one could, however, note the principle in Vedic and ancient Greek of what de Saussure termed 'columnal' accentuation[26] (e.g. Ved. *pitā́ : pitáras;* Gk. *patḗr : patéres, melétē : melétai*), and the further extension of this in the stress-accented modern Greek in the case of certain nominal and most adjectival paradigms[27] (e.g. mod. *prásinos, prásino, prásinu, prásini, prásinus, prásinon* = anc. *prásinos, prásinon, prasínou, prásinoi, prasínous, prasinṓn*).

There are of course languages with unconstrained final stress-accentuation, whether fixed or free; fixed, for example, in Armenian, free in Russian or modern Greek. It may or may not be significant that

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[24]Cf. Kuryłowicz (above, note 1), p. 217 (where x_3 = init., x_2 = penult., x_1 = final): "...x_1 et x_3 se déterminent d'une façon *absolue,* comme final et initial; x_2 est défini de manière *relative* comme précédant la syllabe x_1. La détermination absolue prime la détermination relative...." But even a simple penultimate accent (without quotation marks) would be less surprising than the 'penultimate' as an independent choice.

[25]The same need not apply to non-accentual stress such as that I have suggested for ancient Greek (cf. *Accent and Rhythm,* [above, note 7], p. 295; *Vox Graeca* [above, note 19], p. 165). — Avoidance of syntagmatic variation in the melodic accent of Greek may possibly explain apparently anomalous accentuations such as *ánthrōpoi* (beside *anthrṓpois*): these could be seen as a generalization of the pre-vocalic environment, thereby avoiding a variation of the type *ánthrōpo.yV-* (like e.g. *ánthrōpo.sV-*) beside **anthrṓpoi.C-*.

[26]Cf. Kuryłowicz (above, note 1), p. 225.

[27]Cf. A. Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular* (Edinburgh 1912), p. 28 (tr. from *Hb. d. neugr. Volkssprache,* by S. Angus [2nd ed. Strassburg 1910]); F. W. Householder, K. Kazazis and A. Koutsoudas, *Reference Grammar of Literary Dhimotiki* (*International Journal of American Linguistics* 30, no. 2), pp. 54 ff.

in these particular languages there are no significant distinctions of vowel length:[28] more extensive typological study might here be of interest.

In summary, then, the trend of the above discussion is towards the rather risqué, if not outré, idea that, as Bentley said of claret that "it would be port if it could," so the 'penultimate' accent aspires to be ultimate, but is inhibited by constraints inherent in the quality of its ruies.

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[28]The vowel transcribed as $\bar{e}$ differed from *e* in Old Armenian only qualitatively. In Persian, "duration, which had phonemic relevance in antiquity, is gradually slipping into the background, i.e. from a basic feature it is becoming secondary, concomitant. The basic differentiation of vowels now consists in their qualitative classification" (V. S. Rastorgueva, *A short sketch of the grammar of Persian* [*International Journal of American Linguistics* 30, no. 1, 1964], p. 4): cf. also Š. G. Gaprindašvili and Dž. Š. Giunašvili, *Fonetika Persidskogo Jazyka* I (Tbilisi 1964), pp. 11 ff. (with further references).

2

Chalinus *armiger* in Plautus' *Casina*

WILLIAM S. ANDERSON

The first surviving occurrence of *armiger* meets us in Plautus, who uses the noun six times. Of these, one, the earliest, appears in *Merc.* 852, and all others define an important character of the *Casina,* the slave Chalinus. It is not immediately clear, when in the prologue of *Casina* (55) we first hear of the slave as armor-bearer, whether any nuances attach to the word. Since this matter has not been adequately studied (nor the significance of the armor-bearer in the comedy) I shall bring evidence to bear on *armiger* and show that the word was probably prosaic in its original usage, therefore in all likelihood introduced by Plautus himself, and consequently we should think of Chalinus as a lowly character, not the typical *servus urbanus* or *callidus:* he is a man whose physique and militant past operate more significantly in the comedy's themes than his cleverness.

    The reader of Augustan poetry might well query my first point, for *armiger* as noun appears predominantly in poetry in the Augustan period, notably in the *Aeneid,*[1] and *armiger* as adjective seems to be

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[1]Vergil uses *armiger* six times: five in the nominative (*Aen.* II. 477, V. 255, IX. 564 and 648, XI. 32) and once in the accusative (IX. 330). In his commentary on II. 477, R. G. Austin wrote of the word: "a Plautine noun (*Merc.* 852, etc.), introduced by Virgil into high poetry" (p. 188). Such an assertion is a bit risky, since Cicero alone employs the word between the occurrences in Plautus and Vergil. But it must be admitted that Cicero does use it pejoratively in a manner consistent with Plautus, to describe a thuggish adherent of Clodius (*Dom.* 5. 13). Still, it might be more appropriate to hypothesize that Vergil introduced the *role* of the armor-bearer, not a Homeric type, into heroic epic. In Homer, we hear of charioteers and companions, free men who help the heroes, not armor-bearers (which seem more apt for hoplite warfare). Although Vergil never calls him such, *fidus Achates* sometimes serves Aeneas as armor-bearer: cf. *Aen.* I. 188 and 312. After Vergil, Ovid uses the noun *armiger* in the *Metamorphoses.* But Livy describes a heroic *armiger* at Trasimene (XXII. 6. 4).

exclusively poetic.[2] Compound nouns and adjectives with the suffix -ger
enriched Latin poetic vocabulary throughout the Golden and Silver
Ages, and many were of course revived from the epic of Ennius and
other now-lost poems. However, if we go back to Plautus, whose *Mercator* definitely and *Casina* probably antedated Ennius' *Annales* — and
besides we possess no attested instance of *armiger* in any work of
Ennius — it seems quite evident that he uses the word without any hint
of "poetic" flamboyance, without any allusion to either of the grand
genres of epic or tragedy. Consider first the passage in the *Mercator:*

> apparatus sum ut videtis: abicio superbiam;
> egomet mihi comes, calator, equos, agaso, **armiger,**
> egomet sum mihi imperator, idem egomet mihi oboedio,
> egomet mihi fero quod usust. o Cupido, quantus es! (851-54)

Charinus, feeling very sorry for himself, plans to leave Athens
over unhappy love, and he works on our sympathies by portraying himself as a one-man army, a poor little unattended soldier who is his own
general. In the first line, he talks of abandoning his pride, and that
prepares for the list of 852: not only is he his own companion (*comes*),
but he is his slave attendant (*calator*), his horse, his groom (*agaso*),
and finally his armor-bearer. In a normal military situation, it appears,
Charinus would expect that his status would entitle him to take along at
least three slaves, but in this pathetic instance he gives up any such
claims, overpowered by Love. Each of the three slaves performs a
specific function in the soldier's train: the prosaic aspects of the camp
attendant (*calator*) and the groom (*agaso*) imply the prosaic nature of
armiger.

It would help if we could determine whether Plautus was translating a specific Greek word and so taking over a familiar role from Greek
comedy. What would be the Greek for "armor-bearer?" The slave
who carried military gear in general was σκευοφόρος. Although the
word is a compound, its usage is strictly prosaic, and Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon all employ it to refer to a somewhat contemptible servant with the negative associations of "camp-follower."[3] Since
the word is prosaic and appears nowhere in Menander, we can safely

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[2]Cicero preserves as the earliest and sole pre-Augustan instance of the adjective a
passage from Accius' tragedy *Philoctetes,* where the hero laments that he expends his arrows on birds rather than on warriors: *pinnigero, non armigero in corpore / tela exercentur
haec* (*Fam.* VII. 33). For the Augustan revival, see Propertius III. 4. 8 and III. 11. 10.

[3]See Herodotus VII. 40, Thucydides II. 79. 6, and Xenophon *Anab.* III. 2. 28. In
the Vulgate accounts of the wars of Saul and his son Jonathan, the Latin *armiger* renders
the Greek "he who carries his [master's] gear (τὰ σκεύη)." See I *Reg.* 14. 1 and I *Par.*
10. 4.

infer that Plautus is not translating it from his comic sources Philemon and Diphilos. Ὁπλοφόρος, which refers to a man bearing weapons, seems always to denote a soldier, never a slave; and it never appears in comic verse. Δορυφόρος can refer to a slave who bears his master's spear.[4] Instead of offensive arms, the bearer may carry his master's heavy shield on the long marches before actual combat: ἀσπιδηφόρος, though used in tragedy, applies only to soldiers,[5] but ὑπασπιστής may be used to describe the slave shield-bearer. As such, ὑπασπιστής functions commonly in prose and verse: it fits the trimeter easily and can be found in Aeschylus (ὑπασπιστήρ), Euripides, and in Menander's *Shield* 61 (though in the latter case *not* necessarily referring to slaves, certainly not to Daos, the soldier's attendant who makes his entrance carrying the shield of his supposedly dead master).[6]

Greek New Comedy has left us such fragmentary remains, then, that we cannot locate with certainty the Greek word that Plautus may be translating as *armiger* here. Can we at least find in the comic remains some slaves who fulfilled the functions of armor-bearers even though not so named? I cited above Daos, who does carry a shield in the solemn opening procession of Menander's *Shield* and who describes it in tragic manner (*Asp.* 14-17). However, it is clear that Daos was not present at the fatal battle. This probably implies that he did not characteristically carry his master's shield and that this moment is especially poignant precisely because the slave, not the master, bears the shield. In two plays, slaves carry on their master's military cloak and sword. Sosias has these two items in *Perikeir.* 354-55 as he enters and prepares to storm the house where Glykera has taken refuge; Moschion directs his slave to go indoors and get the same two items (*Samia* 659-60), and after a time the slave Parmeno returns with them (687). Sosias' master is a soldier, so he is by definition a soldier's attendant, but not exclusively an armor-bearer. As for Moschion, he merely pretends to be going off on mercenary service. No doubt Parmeno, who knows nothing of the pretense, fears that he will be obliged to go along to the wars as an attendant, but again, if he did go, he would not be limited to carrying armor.[7] Thus, at present, Greek New Comedy has transmitted

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[4]J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (Munich 1928), p. 40, use this term of the hoplite's slave who performs this function.

[5]Cf. Aeschylus, *Septem* 19, and Euripides, *Suppl.* 390.

[6]For the normal role of the shield-bearer, a slave or subordinate, see Kromayer-Veith, p. 40, and Herodotus V. 111. For his role in tragedy, see Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 182, and Euripides, *Phoen.* 1213 and *Rhesus* 2.

[7]Getas in Menander's *Misoumenos* and Pyrrhias in his *Sikyonios* are servants of professional soldiers, but we see them under peacetime circumstances, in a Greek city, and

to us neither the original Greek word behind *armiger* nor a character who regularly bears arms for a soldier. Although we know that there were slaves in 4th century Greece who did bear arms for their masters, it does not appear at present that Greek New Comedy possessed a well-defined comic prototype for Plautus' *armiger* Chalinus. And so we must now turn to Chalinus himself, to see how the Latin comic poet represents him.

Between the early *Mercator* and the late *Casina,* Plautus had occasion to introduce soldiers' attendants into several plays. We may ignore one type of companion, the parasite, a free man who accompanies the soldier mainly in peacetime and in a civilian setting, as in the *Miles* or *Bacchides.* Of the slave-types named in the *Mercator* 852, we never hear again about *agaso,* but *calator* does recur. The writer of *argumentum* II for the *Pseudolus* calls *calator* the soldier's servant who comes for the girl he has bought from the pimp.[8] His word-choice is justified by Plautus' own term in the letter which introduces the impersonator Simia: *Harpax calator meus est ad te qui venit* (1009). The real Harpax appears in military attire and wears a sword (593), and he seems to be defined as a fiercely loyal slave. The same *argumentum* offers as a synonym for *calator* the word *cacula* (13, 14), and that, too, can be found in Plautus. In the *Trinummus,* the slave Stasimus expresses great anxiety over the insistence of his master Lesbonicus that his last possession should be sacrificed to pay the dowry of his sister, because then Lesbonicus will have no option but to become a mercenary and take Stasimus with him:

> quid ego nunc agam,
> nisi uti sarcinam constringam et clupeum ad dorsum accommodem,
> fulmentas iubeam suppingi socco? non sisti potest.
> video **caculam** militarem me futurum hau longius. (718-21)

As he pictures his grim future, Stasimus will be carrying a pack, have a shield on his back and boots on his feet. Earlier, he added to the list of gear a helmet (*galea,* 596). Apparently, he expects to be pushed into battle, but Stasimus knows that he will be a skulker and avoid danger (723 ff.). In short, Stasimus plays the role of a citified slave who knows that military life is not for him and that he will funk it; he resembles rather closely the cowardly slave Sosia of the *Amphitryo* who did in fact flee, as he freely admits, while his master was heroically battling the enemy (*Amph.* 199-200). Thus, by the time he wrote the

we receive no impression of their military functions.

[8] *Pseud.* Arg. II. 9: *calator militaris.* In *Rudens* 335, Plautus uses the noun to refer to Trachalio, the slave of a civilian. Caesar's word for a soldier's servant, *calo,* can also be

Casina, Plautus had developed a vocabulary and general typology for soldiers' servants. *Calator* or *cacula* properly defined any military servant, but the professional soldier tended to have a faithful and, on the whole, soldierly servant, whereas the citizen soldier would have a most reluctant and malingering follower. As we shall see, Chalinus seems to have been the attendant of Euthynicus, a citizen soldier, but he possesses none of the cowardly qualities of a Stasimus or Sosia. By calling him *armiger* instead of *calator* or *cacula,* Plautus probably alerts his audience to special aspects of the role.

From the first time he is mentioned, in the prologue (55), the *armiger* stands in opposition to the manager of the country estate (*vilicus,* 52), Chalinus acting on behalf of his young master, the bailiff Olympio serving the corrupt erotic interests of old Lysidamus. The curious point is, that Chalinus does not seem to be an armor-bearer at present. Although Euthynicus has left home, he has done so after commissioning his armor-bearer to woo Casina, and he has left only because his lusty father has sent him off on some pretext (62). Commentators, therefore, reconstruct the chronology as follows. (1) Earlier, Euthynicus had served time as a soldier, and Chalinus had been his *armiger.* (2) At the end of his service, Euthynicus had returned to Athens with Chalinus and fallen in love with Casina. (3) His jealous father Lysidamus had gotten him out of the way by sending him abroad (*peregre*), presumably now on business matters. (4) Chalinus, former *armiger,* remained in Athens to promote Euthynicus' interests, now with the enthusiastic support of the boy's mother, the intrepid wife of Lysidamus.[9] So once again Plautus' choice of the word *armiger* causes surprise and attracts attention. Where he might easily have rendered the dramatic antagonism between Chalinus and Olympio as the familiar opposition of *urbanus* and *rusticus,* he has deliberately lowered the status of Chalinus and raised that of the country-dweller.

In the standard confrontation between the country and city slaves, the *rusticus* loses out to the ready wit and articulateness of the *urbanus,* although he may have morality on his side. Thus, at the start of the *Mostellaria,* Grumio, mocked by the cleverness of Tranio, *urbanus scurra* (15), helps to define the attractive rogue who will become the central character of the comedy. By contrast, when Olympio and Chalinus argue in the opening scene of the *Casina,* Olympio dominates the confrontation by his words and his confidence, and the few cracks

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used generally of low servants.

[9]For this chronological scheme, cf. the useful notes of MacCary and Willcock in their commentary on *Casina* (Cambridge 1976), at 55 and 62.

that Chalinus gets in against his rustic occupation make little impression. Chalinus does not emerge as the clever slave or potential rogue, and his decision to follow Olympio around like his shadow (92) seems neither clever nor helpful in blocking Olympio's marriage to Casina.

Olympio's confidence rests upon two strong bases. In the first place, he has the active support of his old master Lysidamus, whereas Chalinus has lost the assistance of the now-absent young master Euthynicus. Moreover, as *vilicus,* managing the country estate of the family, he automatically towers above Chalinus, whose only definable quality connects him not with the home and its economic functions, but with the temporary military service of Euthynicus, an event *of the past.* Chalinus has no apparent function in the home, now that his armor-bearing days have ended. The superiority of Olympio receives further biased presentation by Lysidamus himself. Why, he asks his wife, could you possibly want to marry Casina to a worthless armor-bearer rather than to a reliable, provident slave like Olympio, who can keep a wife comfortably and raise their children properly? He is very concerned for Casina, he asserts,

> ut detur nuptum nostro vilico,
> **servo frugi** atque ubi illi bene sit ligno, aqua calida, cibo,
> vestimentis, ubique educat pueros quos pariat <sibi>,
> quam illi servo nequam des, **armigero nili atque improbo,**
> quoi homini hodie peculi nummus non est plumbeus. (254-58)[10]

He makes the same comparison succinctly ten lines later:

> ut enim frugi servo detur potius quam servo improbo. (268)

And he further depreciates Chalinus by taking off from *armiger* and sneering at him as a "mere shield-bearer":

> qui, malum, homini **scutigerulo** dare lubet? (262)

We are well into the comedy by this point, and Plautus has consistently rigged speech and action to subordinate Chalinus to Olympio, not least in the choice of the defining substantive *armiger.* Thus, I would differ with Casson who, in his excellent translation of this play, introduces Chalinus to the reader as a man who "is the precise opposite of Olympio: immaculate, sophisticated, unmistakably a product of the city."[11] Plautus emphasizes quite different qualities in Chalinus and a much more interesting opposition with Olympio. Without Euthynicus, in relation to whom he alone possesses a [former] function, he would seem to be what Lysidamus calls him, a cipher. But subsequently

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[10]MacCary and Willcock call *armigero* in 257 a "term of abuse."

[11]Lionel Casson, *Six Plays of Plautus* (Anchor edition, New York 1960), p. 117.

scenes begin to alter the emphasis. Master and mistress agree to try separately to dissuade the other's candidate for Casina. Cleustrata deals with Olympio offstage, apparently resorting to threats, which he parries. Plautus stages the confrontation between Chalinus and Lysidamus. Summoned from the house, Chalinus asks brusquely what his master wants. Further to point up the servant's manner, Lysidamus protests at the scowl on his face and his grim attitude toward himself (281-82). What Chalinus does in response to that is not clear, for the master continues directly with an outright lie: *probum et frugi hominem iam pridem esse arbitror* (283). He contradicts what he was so indignantly saying to his wife just a few minutes ago. And Chalinus, who recognizes the lie, answers impudently: "If you think me so, why don't you free me?" That leads up to the tempting choice his master sets before him: to be a free man and unmarried or to live out his days as a slave-husband (290-91). Chalinus spurns the temptation and insists on marrying Casina. He has a strong character.

During the great lot-drawing scene, which gave the original play of Diphilos its title, another significant detail receives emphasis. Although to my mind Plautus pretty well balances the repartee between the two slaves, at a certain point he suggests an important contrast between their physical strengths and endurance. In his impatience with Chalinus' impertinence, Lysidamus orders Olympio to bash him in the face (404). Chalinus says nothing, but Cleustrata warns Olympio not to raise his hand. Olympio goes ahead and slugs Chalinus, who still says nothing. It is Cleustrata who indignantly protests (406) and orders Chalinus to pound Olympio's jaw in return (407). At the blow Olympio cries out with pain and appeals to Lysidamus: *perii, pugnis caedor* (407). In this exchange of punches, the result is amazing if we view Olympio as a 250-pound bruiser and Chalinus as an immaculate city-slicker.[12] But if Chalinus has appeared from the beginning as a rugged soldierly man of strapping physique, his ability to take Olympio's punch silently, then give back more than he got, would make sense. It will obviously prove necessary that he be physically stronger than Olympio. A second point to notice in this episode is that Chalinus does not act until prompted by his mistress Cleustrata. Throughout the play, Chalinus remains a secondary character, not an independent *servus callidus,* and all that he does accomplish results from the plans and clever direction of Cleustrata.

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[12]This is essentially Casson's vivid conception of the way Plautus contrasts these two roles: see above, note 11.

Although right seems to be on their side, Chalinus and Cleustrata lose in the lot-drawing, and the first round of the contest between husband and wife ends with a seemingly total victory for Lysidamus and his agent Olympio, who chortles in a maddening way: "It all came about because of my own *pietas* and that of my [non-existent] noble ancestors" (418). Chalinus considers hanging himself in despair, but then decides with good sense that he won't be much use dead. And at that moment, Lysidamus and Olympio come outdoors, unaware of his presence, and expose themselves to his eavesdropping, what he militantly calls his "ambush" (436). What he learns about their grubby plot raises his spirits, and he exults at the end of the scene that the tables have now been turned; the vanquished are now victorious (*iam victi vicimus,* 510).

Now will begin a series of actions against Lysidamus and Olympio, all initiated by Cleustrata, which at first will only delay the inevitable, but finally, through a surprise use of Chalinus *armiger,* will utterly confound the guilty pair. Chalinus exits at 514. We do not even hear of him again until 769, and do not see him on stage until 814. During his absence, however, occurs a long lyric, excitedly comic scene (621-758) which derives its impetus from a fiction invented by Cleustrata about a sword-brandishing Casina. Like a tragic messenger, a servant rushes screaming from the house to announce a "tragic situation" indoors to the quaking Lysidamus: Casina has seized a sword, no, two swords (692), and she threatens to kill any man who tries to violate her virginity. MacCary reminds us of the murderous *Danaides;*[13] a similar tragic plot recurs in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor.* Some critics have suspected this episode, because it seems so self-contained, as an addition of Plautus, but I agree with those who regard it as a Plautine lyrical expansion of a nucleus from the Greek original.[14] Among his additions might be the second sword, added to enhance the humor.[15] However, what especially concerns us is the way the theme of weapons and

[13]W. T. MacCary, "The Comic Tradition and Comic Structures in Diphilos' *Kleroumenoi,*" *Hermes* 101 (1973), pp. 194-208, and "Patterns of Myth, Ritual, and Comedy in Plautus' *Casina,*" *Texas Studies in Lit. & Lang.* 15 (1974), p. 887.

[14]For this position, see MacCary, on structure in Diphilos' original (above, note 13), and further discussion in MacCary and Willcock; for the most recent re-assertion of sharp differences between Diphilos and Plautus, in this and other scenes, see E. Lefèvre, "Plautus Studien III: von der Tyche-Herrschaft in Diphilos' Klerumenoi zum Triumma-tronat der Casina," *Hermes* 107 (1979), pp. 311-339. Lefèvre has now been criticized by M. Waltenberger, "Plautus' Casina und die Methode der Analyse," *Hermes* 109 (1981), pp. 440-47.

[15]So MacCary *ad loc.* Lefèvre 331-32 of course assumes that all the farcical features here are Plautine.

violence now becomes, through this fiction, attached to the audience's
idea of Casina. We might say that Casina has taken over the virile role
of *armiger* from Chalinus, as his temporary substitute. But since the
girl Casina remains absent, always expected, this imaginary mad scene
serves to set up the final episode, when Chalinus *armiger* returns to
impersonate bride Casina.

Cleustrata's servant Pardalisca announces to us this final phase of
her mistress' cleverness, and here Plautus employs for the fifth and last
time in this play *armiger,* to clarify the comic paradox of a rugged sol-
dier dressed as bride and given in marriage to the bailiff Olympio:

> illaec autem **armigerum** ilico exornant duae
> quem dent pro Casina nuptum nostro vilico. (769-70)

The entrance of "bride" Chalinus initiates a final brilliant sequence of
lyric, the longest such sequence in this or any comedy of Plautus. As
Lysidamus and Olympio impatiently sing the marriage-song outside, the
door finally opens and Lysidamus sighs in relief. The next comment,
an aside to the audience, comes from Chalinus, Pardalisca, or the chief
plotter Cleustrata: "Our Casin*us* can be smelled from a distance" (*iam
oboluit Casinus procul,* 814).[16] Once Cleustrata delivers the bride over to
Olympio and retires indoors, the two men begin to express their erotic
purposes both verbally and manually. Chalinus cannot risk a word, of
course, but he defends his body with vigor. As Olympio exclaims over,
and tries to caress, his bride's "soft little body" (843), his foot is
stamped on with the force, he thinks, of an elephant. Although
amazed, he continues to try to explore that body and receives next an
elbow in his ribs that feels like a battering ram (849). The Roman
audience would no doubt think of Hannibal's elephants and recent uses
of the ram in military engagements, and they would relish the dramatic
irony of the soldier-bride who reveals his basic militant nature. These
two comparisons, at any rate, set up a purely Plautine pun that cannot
have appeared in Diphilos' Greek. Lysidamus scolds Olympio for
touching the bride so roughly and then confidently asserts: "Watch me.
She doesn't make *war* with me because I touch her so *warily*" (*at mihi,
qui belle hanc tracto, non bellum facit,* 851). So saying, he does touch
"her", and immediately cries out with pain, staggers, and comments on
her strength that has nearly knocked him flat. But since in this broad
comic development of Plautus, the lecherous fools must not perceive
the obvious significance of the bride's tremendous warlike strength, the
scene concludes with two more purely Latin puns, and all three enter

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[16]MacCary and Willcock debate the claims of Chalinus and Pardalisca, then decide
for the latter. Lindsay assigned the sentence to Chalinus, Casson to Cleustrata.

next door for the long-awaited wedding night. Olympio's last words remind us, I think, of the earlier pun: *i, belle belliatula* (854).[17]

When next we see Olympio, he is running for his life, stripped down to his undergarment and obviously in pain. As the tragic messenger of his own shameful "tragedy," he reports his disastrous efforts to bed the bride before Lysidamus. Although all manuscripts reveal bad damage to the archetype here, we can recover at least one key sequence that revives the weapon-theme. And now the sword serves not only as the literal symbol of masculinity and physical strength but also as the metaphor of male sexuality. Plautus has pushed the possibilities of *armiger* to their richest comic conclusion, in something atypical of Greek New Comedy but closely resembling Aristophanes.[18] As Olympio was exploring the body of his bride by touch, he felt something large, very large. Afraid that it was a sword, he began to check, and he grabbed what he thought was the hilt (909). But now that he thinks about it, that was no sword, for it would have been cold. The women continue to tease Olympio to explain what the huge thing was, but he either can't or won't work the obvious out for them. In any case, his charming bride has kicked, punched, and bruised him, and he has rushed out of bed and house in a comic state of disrepair.

Shortly after this, Lysidamus emerges in an even worse condition: he too has left his cloak behind and appears in an undergarment; he too has been beaten; but he has also lost his staff, the symbol of his authority. Close behind him comes Chalinus in his bridal gown, brandishing that very staff and threatening to beat the aged lover with it outdoors as he obviously has done indoors. The *armiger* has thus overpowered the rustic *vilicus,* and he has seized the staff of Lysidamus and turned it into a weapon with which he has rightly struck his own master. For a few fine moments, this despised armor-bearer, ridiculously dressed in bridal saffron that hardly conceals his muscles, possesses the cloak and staff of Lysidamus and asserts his moral as well as physical superiority over the corrupt old man and Olympio. Then, Cleustrata

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[17] There seems no doubt that the reading of *A* is correct: Plautus has formed a unique diminutive from the otherwise unique form *belliata,* which he invented for *Rudens* 463, and the girl is being addressed as the *meretrix* in *Asin.* 676, *i sane bella belle.* However, *belliatula* appears in *P* as *bellatula,* as though the scribe imagined "a little warrior" rather than "a little beauty."

[18] Of course, Aristophanes would have had no hesitation in staging the scene which Plautus merely reports. Thus, in the *Lysistrata,* when the herald from Sparta enters, in a state of sexual excitement, the poet plays on the supposed confusion between a spear and his erect member. For references to the sword in a similar sexual sense, see J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (Yale University Press 1975), under #58, *xsiphos* (p. 122).

intervenes and compels the slave to return his booty and to revert to his normal status (1009).

I have attempted to show that Plautus introduced the word *armiger* into the Latin language and that it possesses no poetic overtones in its first usage, the *Mercator,* and even less in the five occurrences of the *Casina.* In fact, *armiger* helps to define Chalinus from the beginning as a slave of little account. At first, we see him mainly in the hostile terms of his antagonists; he cannot match the verbal assault or the status of Olympio *vilicus,* and his old master Lysidamus scorns him as a mere shield-bearer, a worthless scoundrel. However, the terms of that opposition provide some clues as to his appearance and characterization; they imply that he cannot be a citified type, articulate and well-groomed (like Tranio of the *Mostellaria*), but rather that he retains his military bearing and shows the tough physique of a campaigner. Thus, he emerges as a new type for the Greek comedy behind Plautus and for Plautus himself, not the cowardly *cacula militaris* but the valiant *armiger.* After reaching a low point of despair as a result of the lot-drawing, Chalinus *armiger* begins to recover importance, though less from his own efforts than because of the energetic plans of his mistress Cleustrata. Instead of a defensive type, with a shield, we come to think of him as aggressive: punching, beating, and wielding a sword. Plautus first introduces the sword as a fictional threat connected with Casina, whom we constantly expect to make her entrance. But when Casina does enter, she has become Casin*us:* Chalinus *armiger* has replaced her, and his sexual sword and powerful fists complete the "rout" of Olympio and Lysidamus, the "victory" of Cleustrata. This final comedy of Plautus contains many brilliant comic touches and a superior display of lyrical virtuosity. Not the least of its achievements, however, is the special presentation of Chalinus *armiger.*[19]

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[19] I leave it to others to draw the appropriate conclusions for Roman social history from the special creation of this slave-soldier type in the *Casina.* Having earlier mocked the professional soldier as a cowardly braggart, having depicted slaves as cowardly soldiers or "heroes" only in metaphorically military terms, Plautus in his final play shows some sympathy for the mere trooper. The ordinary masses in his audience would readily respond to such a characterization of Chalinus, in my opinion.

3

Ennius Lyricus

GEORGE SHEETS

In the prologue to his *Andria,* Terence defends himself against a charge of literary incompetence. He has been accused of spoiling his Menandrean model by interpolating material from a second Greek play into the Latin version — the practice which modern scholars call *contaminatio.*[1] Terence does not deny the charge. Instead he willingly admits it and justifies himself through the precedent set by Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius. With heavy irony he adds that he would rather emulate their "carelessness" (*neclegentiam*) than the muddled pedantry (*obscuram diligentiam*) practiced by his critics.[2] *Neclegentia* seems to express an attitude of independence vis-à-vis Greek models, a freedom to borrow from them selectively and to adapt them without any constraints other than the artistic principles which the adapter formulates for himself. The superiority of *neclegentia* over the *obscura diligentia* of the purists is again argued, by implication, in the prologue to the *Eunuch.* Terence there states that his critics, through accurate translation (*bene vortendo*), turn good Greek plays into bad Latin ones.[3] It is well known that the attitude behind *neclegentia,* even if called by a different name, was to remain a fundamental principle of Roman literary creativity.[4] Its effects range from minor formal alterations, like the senarius as opposed to the trimeter, to major aesthetic transformations, like the *contaminatio* of Achilles and Odysseus in Aeneas.

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[1] *An.* 15-16: *Id isti vituperant factum atque in eo disputant / contaminari non decere fabulas.*

[2] *An.* 20-21.

[3] *Eu.* 7-8; cf. *He.* 16-19, *Ad.* 14.

[4] E.g., Horace, *A.P.* 131-34: *Publica materies privati iuris erit, si / non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem, / nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres.*

Ennius, as Terence said, helped to set the precedent for *neclegentia* in subsequent Roman literature. Terence was referring to drama, but the same observation could have been made of the *Annales.* The proem to book I of that work provides a good example. Ennius there portrayed himself as learning in a dream that he was Homer reincarnate. This revelation seems to have occurred in a scene which was intended to evoke the encounter of Hesiod with the Muses on Mount Helicon (*Theogony* 22-35).[5] Thus the proem involves a *contaminatio* of what, from an Alexandrian point of view, were two distinct epic traditions, the Homeric and the Hesiodic. There can be no doubt that Ennius was aware of the critical issues which distinguished the two traditions in Alexandrian theory, since in this same passage he also styled himself a Callimachean.[6] A reborn Homer experiences the privileged initiation of Hesiod and retravels the aesthetic journey of Callimachus. Thus the first and best poet of a grand and heroic theme, a theme

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[5]The situational parallels seem too close to admit of any other interpretation. Hesiod encounters the Muses on the slopes of Helicon. They know what is false and what is true, and they instruct him (22) on his theme. Further, they breathe an αὐδὴν θέσπιν into him so that he may celebrate the events of the past and foretell those of the future. Ennius also encounters an external source of supernatural knowledge (Homer), also on a "magic mountain" (Helicon or Parnassus — the tradition is unclear, and perhaps Ennius was not specific). He too is instructed in certain (Pythagorean) truths; and the instruction culminates with the revelation regarding the entry of Homer's soul into Ennius' body — perhaps, like the αὐδὴν θέσπιν of Hesiod, the reincarnation was described in association with a particular mission: to celebrate the events of the past, etc. The evocation of Hesiod is further signaled by the Callimachean dream motif (see below, note 6) borrowed from the *Aitia* proem, in which the reference to Hesiod is explicit (fr. 2 Pf.). There is, of course, a great deal of seemingly insoluble controversy surrounding the finer details of this very fragmentary passage in Ennius. Whether the poet was "initiated" in a scene with the Muses; whether such a scene included a symbolic drink from their sacred spring; whether such a scene was part of the dream or separate from it; where such a scene may have been set — these and other related questions simply cannot be definitively answered in the present state of our evidence. For a review of the issues and scholarship see A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965), pp. 191-201.

[6]The dream motif (see J. Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* [3rd ed., Leipzig 1928], *ad* frr. iv, v, xi, xii of book I) is borrowed from the proem to Callimachus' *Aitia* (see the "somnii testimonia" in R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* I [Oxford 1949], p. 11) and thus takes on a programmatic significance comparable to that of its model. One does not know that the alleged differences between the borrowing and the model were as great as assumed by O. Skutsch (*The Annals of Q. Ennius* [London 1951], p. 9 = *Studia Enniana* [London 1968], p. 7) — for example that Ennius actually slept on the mountain rather than visiting it in the dream — but Skutsch is surely right in observing: "To imagine that a man educated in the Greek world of his time could have been unaware of the περίπνυστον ὄνειαρ, the famous dream of the most famous poet of the century, is to imagine that a modern literary man could write of a scholar's pact with the devil, without being aware of Goethe's *Faust*" (p. 10/8).

which comprises numerous episodes to be presented in the didactic manner, utilizes the baroque style of Alexandria. This mixing of apparent unmixables, embodying, as it does, a selective disregard for the artistic canons of ostensible models, exemplifies the creative freedom which Terence later characterized ironically as *neclegentia*.

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Here I propose to examine another instance of Ennian *neclegentia,* if one may be permitted to call it that. Once again the departure from tradition involves a *contaminatio:* specifically, the poet's broadening of the epic style to include features which in Greek literature were generally excluded from epic, being particularly associated with lyric poetry instead. The term "lyric" is admittedly imprecise, since it can be applied to a number of formal and thematic features which are more or less characteristic of much Greek poetry: choral and monodic lyric in a narrower sense, elegy, iamb, and epigram too. Accordingly, a narrower definition of the term is adopted for this article. "Lyric poetry" here means primarily the epinician ode, especially Pindar's version of it.

Heroic epic and the *epinikion* have at least one theme in common: both are encomiastic; they both celebrate the κλέα ἀνδρῶν. Clearly, however, they differ in their approaches to this subject. Quite apart from the obvious formal differences of scale, meter, music and dialect, the attitude of the lyric poet toward his subject is profoundly unlike that of the epic poet toward his. Epic poetry builds its effects primarily through narrative content. In the case of heroic epic, that content emphasizes action and events and incorporates a plot. The nature of any plot is to minimize a sense of the poet's active involvement in his creation. In exploiting dramatic effects such as irony, suspense, climax and peripety, a plot stands on its own; its internal logic is self-evident; its effects are immediate and do not require — indeed they essentially pre-empt — any interpretative comment on the part of the poet.[7] In an *epinikion,* however, there is no plot. Narrative content, such as that of a mythic *exemplum,* forms only part of a larger theme which also includes highlighted details of the athletic victory and fragments of the patron's biography. These various elements are not naturally related to one another. What makes them cohere is the context of metaphorical significations into which the poet fits them. The intrusive presence and didactic authority of the poet's (or chorus') *persona* is critical to

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[7]Cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 1460 a 7 on Homer and mimesis: Ὅμηρος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι μόνος τῶν ποιητῶν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής.

defining the unity and over-all meaning of that context.[8] In being markedly subjective and interpreted, as opposed to objective and obvious, the meaning of lyric poetry is expressly the poet's, and thereby serves to elevate the poetic *persona* to the role of mediating between his subject and his audience. This quality makes the lyric style self-referential to a degree which even other didactic poetry, including didactic epic, never approximates. The lyric poet will not let his audience overlook or forget that the κλέα ἀνδρῶν are preserved through his agency,[9] that their metaphorical significance is revealed through his σοφία,[10] and thus that the subject and the poem and the poet are inseparable.

Res atque poemata nostra — the subject, the poem and the poet — is the way in which Ennius introduces his epic.[11] The phrase suggests an interdependence and equality of importance among these three elements, which will mutually share the fame of which Ennius boasts. Such a conceit is not traditional in epic poetry. In Homeric epic, as was noted above, the poet *in propria persona* remains offstage. While it is true that in Hesiod and philosophical epic the poetic *persona* is elevated to a prominent role of didactic authority, and that this development accompanies a new emphasis on the truth and importance of the subject,[12] the consequent narrowing of the goal of poetry to a more self-consciously didactic purpose entails a decline in the ethical status of poetry itself. Serious didactic poetry views the poem as a means to an end, not as an end in its own right. This attitude eventually leads to the replacement of poetry by prose as the serious didactic medium. Conversely, in the ostensibly didactic poetry of the Hellenistic age, as also in the small-scale alternative epic of Alexandria, the selection of academic, bizarre, or humble themes is a deliberate means of making the subject secondary in importance to the technical virtuosity of the poet. As suggested earlier, however, the conceit is a familiar one in Pindar. The poet begins his fourth *Isthmian,* for example, by jubilantly

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[8]Thus Pindar repeatedly refers to himself in the course of a typical *epinikion* (e.g., *Ol.* 1. 4, 7, 16, 18, 36, 52. 100-105, 108-112, 115-116). He also repeatedly asserts his claim to *sophia* — both explicitly through statements to that effect (e.g., *ibid.* 9, 116) and implicitly through the numerous ethical and aesthetic judgments which the poet presumes to make (e.g., *ibid.* 1-15, 30-36, 53, 97-100, 110-116).

[9]E.g., Pindar, *Py.* 3. 114; cf. *Ol.* 10. 91-96 and numerous other examples.

[10]E.g., *Ol.* 2. 83-86.

[11]*Latos <per> populos res atque poemata nostra / <clara> cluebunt:* 3-4 V. as restored by O. Skutsch ("Enniana I," *Classical Quarterly* 38 [1944], pp. 82-84 = *Studia Enniana*, pp. 22-24).

[12]S. Koster, *Antike Epostheorien* (Wiesbaden 1970), pp. 7-10.

declaring his personal opportunity (ἔστι μοι...κέλευθος) to celebrate the ἀρεταί which his subject offers (εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας) by means of a ὕμνος which will, the poet prays, itself be a στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον for the victory.[13] Very much the same effect seems to be created through the juxtaposition encompassed by "res atque poemata nostra... cluebunt."

But this is not the only, nor even the best, evidence for the lyric involvement of poet and theme in Ennius' epic style. Perhaps the clearest indication of this involvement is provided by a notice from the elder Pliny.[14] Pliny states that Ennius added a sixteenth book to his *Annales* because he especially admired a certain pair of brothers whom, presumably, the book in question was intended to honor. There seems no reason to doubt that Pliny's notice is based on what Ennius himself wrote, probably in the prologue to book XVI, to which Vahlen assigned the fragment. That being so, this notice reveals the remarkable extent to which Ennius has personalized his massive poem. Normally an epic poet will justify himself, if he presumes to do so at all, in terms of the special nature of his theme, as in the *Works and Days,* where the truth and utility of the subject are emphasized;[15] or he will justify himself through his special fitness for the role, an example being Hesiod's initiation in the *Theogony.* Where else in epic poetry prior to Ennius does the poet explain himself by saying, in effect, "because I wanted to"? A more conventional medium for the expression of the poet's personal attitude toward his subject is lyric poetry (to which elegy and iamb can be added), as in the seventh *Pythian,* where Pindar declares that he is moved by his subject (ἄγοντι δέ με) and that he takes pleasure in it (χαίρω τι).[16]

In the light of this notice from Pliny, one can imagine that a similarly lyric attitude may have also appeared in other passages where, however, the evidence is less conclusive. For example, Aurelius Victor refers to the Ambracian victory of M. Fulvius Nobilior as follows: "quam victoriam per se magnificam Q. Ennius amicus eius insigni

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[13] *Is.* 4, 1, 2, 44 respectively.

[14] *N.H.* VII. 101: "Q. Ennius T. Caelium Teucrum fratremque eius praecipue miratus propter eos sextum decimum adiecit annalem." E. Badian's arguments for restoring *Caelium* (cdd. *Caecilium*) to this passage, and for connecting these brothers with the two tribunes of Livy XLI. 1. 7; 4. 3 are convincing: "Ennius and his Friends," *Fondation Hardt Entretiens* XVII (Geneva 1971), pp. 196-99.

[15] E.g., *Op.* 10, 286.

[16] *Py.* 7. 13-18.

laude celebravit.''[17] The *insigni laude* seems gratuitous (would not *cele-bravit* do the job by itself?) unless one imagines the poet interrupting his narrative with a personal encomium.[18] What form might such an encomium have taken? Perhaps 370-72 V. (of Fabius Maximus) preserves a partial example of a similar one:

> Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
> Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem.
> Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

In particular the *nobis* and *nunc* of this passage suggest a personal perspective (as opposed to a general and timeless one) which the poet invites his audience to share. Such an ''invitation'' is a reflection of the paraenetic interest which normally complements lyric encomium. Great deeds are great examples, and the lyric poet takes it upon himself to draw the proper inferences for his audience. Such paraenesis in Ennius can even take the form of explicit advice, as in 465-66 V.:

> Audire est operae pretium procedere recte
> qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere vultis.[19]

to which one may compare the Pindaric: $\H{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$ $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho$ $\sigma\alpha\phi\grave{\epsilon}s$ $\H{o}\sigma\tau\iota s...\pi\rho\grave{o}$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha s$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha s$ $\mathaccent"705E{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ (*Is.* 7. 27). Thus the picture which emerges from these fragments is more that of the lyric $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\xi$ $\sigma o\phi\mathaccent"705E{\omega}\nu$ $\grave{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$[20] than of the epic $\grave{\alpha}o\iota\delta\acute{o}s$.

In what was probably a ''sphragis'' to book XV, the original conclusion to the *Annales,* Ennius described himself by means of the following simile (374-75 V.):

> Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo

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[17] *De vir. illus.* 52. 3. Vahlen assigned this notice to the opening of book XV.

[18] K. Ziegler's argument (*Das hellenistische Epos* [2nd ed., Leipzig 1966], pp. 15-16) that this overtly encomiastic quality was also a feature of Hellenistic ''Heldenepos'' may be true. It does not follow, however, that the *Annales* was just another ''court'' epic. The question of other Hellenistic forms which may have influenced Ennius is taken up later in this article.

[19] The fragment is known from the *scholion* to a parody of it in Horace (*Sat.* I. 2. 37-38): ''Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte / qui moechis non vultis.'' Vahlen put quotation marks around the fragment, evidently on the assumption that it came from a speech. But if these were the alleged words of some notable figure out of Roman history, say a Fabius or a Cato, then Horace's parody would have been that much more delicious, and Porphyrion's note would most likely have identified the speaker so as to point out the additional irreverence. Instead merely ''Ennius'' is mentioned as the source — ''sed illud urbanius, quod cum Ennius 'vultis' dixerit, hic 'non vultis' intulerit'' — which suggests that these words were not part of a character's speech, but rather were addressed by the poet to his audience, even as the Horatian parody takes the form of such an address.

[20] Pindar, fr. 70b. 24 Snell.

vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.[21]

If the reference of this fragment is to Ennius' reasons for concluding the poem at this point, as seems the most likely interpretation, then it projects the same lyric *persona* as the notice from Pliny. It elevates the poet to the level of his subject, enabling the poem to end not because the story does, but rather because the poet *in propria persona* decides that it will. Again parallels are readily available in Pindar,[22] but cannot be found in epic poetry.

There is certainly nothing novel in the observation that the *Annales* were unprecedented, so far as one has evidence by which to judge, in the degree to which they, as epic poetry, incorporated authorial intrusions. Less certain are the reasons behind this aspect of Ennian epic. Given that Ennius was writing epic poetry in the Greek manner, why did he depart from Greek tradition so markedly in this respect? Previous Ennian scholarship has offered at least three different answers to this question. K. Ziegler in effect answered it by denying the premise that Ennian epic represents a departure from tradition.[23] He argued instead that the *Annales* closely reflect the style of contemporary Greek historical epic. Unfortunately nothing of this genre has survived, making it impossible either to prove or to disprove Ziegler's thesis. The argument is reminiscent of the once popular search for "Posidonius" behind much of Cicero's *philosophica*. It is an *ignotum per ignotius,* and consequently no answer at all. W. Suerbaum suggests that self-references in Ennius are owed to the influence of prose historiography, particularly Hellenistic historiography, in which the book-length compositional unit offered numerous opportunities for

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[21]Cic. *De Sen.* 14. W. Suerbaum (*Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter* [Hildesheim 1968], pp. 124-25) calls attention to the stylistically unprecedented nature of such self-description in epic poetry: "Dass sich der Dichter selbst mit einem Gleichnis auszeichnet, dafür gab es in der bisherigen epischen Dichtung keine Parallele. Die besprochenen Stellen entstammen alle nichtepischer Literatur." Self-description by means of simile is not common even in lyric poetry, though examples can be found in Pindar; e.g., *Py.* 2. 80-81 (the poet is untouched by slander, like a cork riding above the net). Perhaps the closest Pindaric parallel (though not a simile) is *N.* 8. 19, where the poet likens himself to a runner at the start of a race.

[22]E.g. *N.* 3. 76-82, where the poet abruptly brings his treatment of the theme to an end and closes the poem with a description of himself as an eagle in contrast to the raucous jackdaws who represent his unworthy rivals.

[23]*Das hellenistische Epos* (above, note 18), pp. 55-77. The extremely speculative nature of Ziegler's thesis is sensibly criticized by B. Otis (*Vergil* [Oxford 1964], pp. 396-98) — my thanks to G. W. Williams for calling my attention to Otis' discussion.

"personal" prologues — Polybius provides the best example.[24] On the basis of this supposition, Suerbaum argues that Ennius' personal references were confined to the prologues and epilogues of individual books. Yet the following evidence suggests that Ennius could also refer to himself from within the narrative content of the poem itself.

Aelius Stilo told that Ennius, in the famous "trusted adviser" passage,[25] sketched a portrait of himself under the guise of a friend to a certain Servilius Geminus.[26] Assuming that Ennius intended the identification to be made, how was this intention realized, if authorial intrusions were excluded from the narrative as Suerbaum supposes? There is nothing in traditional epic poetry, nor even in historiography, which could provide a model for such a *laudatio sui*. But in a Pindaric style Ennius might have written something like: "May I ever be like that friend who...."[27] The encomium of Fabius Cunctator discussed earlier (370-72 V.) provides another example of authorial intrusion into the narrative. And perhaps still other fragments should be read in a similar way: 377 V., for example, "Nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini," would make sense both as an autobiographical statement and as an allegorical expression of Roman "manifest destiny."

To return to the question which was posed above, it has been seen that neither Ziegler's argument, nor Suerbaum's, seems to provide a satisfactory explanation of the nature and extent of authorial intrusion in Ennian epic. The thesis of the present article, of course, is that such intrusions were one aspect of a broader "lyric" *contaminatio* which Ennius has modeled after the style of Pindaric epinicia. To a limited extent this thesis has been obliquely anticipated by G. Williams, who writes: "The inspiration for Ennius' personal entrances into his own narrative, so alien to the epic tradition, came from Callimachus. Relevant here is not only the prologue to the *Aitia,* but also such a composition as the first Hymn to Zeus."[28] Perhaps of even greater relevance than Williams' examples are the Callimachean epinicia specifically: those of the *Iambi* (8) and elegiacs (frr. 383, 384, and now

[24] *Selbstdarstellung* (above, note 21), pp. 44-46.

[25] 234-51 V. (= Gellius XII. 4. 4).

[26] O. Skutsch (*Classical Quarterly* 57 [1963], pp. 94-96 = *Studia Enniana*, pp. 92-94) has shown that this passage brims with Hellenistic *topoi;* nevertheless, he feels that Stilo's identification was likely to have been correct.

[27] E.g., *N.* 8. 35.

[28] *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968), p. 697.

the "Victoria Berenices" from book III of the *Aitia*).[29] These "lyric" conflations in Callimachus have been studied by J. K. Newman who enumerates several "points of contact" between Callimachus and Pindar specifically.[30] He refers with approval to the view of Puelma Piwonka[31] which, he says, "suggests that a vital clue to Callimachus is his preoccupation with the transposition of lyric into other genres traditionally regarded as non-lyric." Thus this chain of argument indirectly arrives at a conclusion similar to the one which the present article advances — that a vital clue to Ennius is his transposition of lyric into epic. Yet there is no need to see the Pindaric element in Callimachus, rather than the work of Pindar himself, as the source from which Ennius drew the lyric *contaminatio* of his epic style. Since Ennius surely possessed the creativity to use Pindar independently, it seems more probable that he was inspired both directly by the potentialities of the lyric style, and by the example of Callimachus in putting some of them to use in other genres. Regardless of whether the Pindaric influence is direct or through Callimachus, the extension of such a style to epic poetry appears to have been without precedent.

A final observation about the racehorse simile of book XV is in order. At various other points in the poem Ennius took care to define his place in the tradition of ancient poetry. It has been noted that he saw himself as a reborn Homer, and that the revelation of this rebirth occurred in a setting which evoked both Hesiod and Callimachus. In the proem to book VII Ennius defined himself with respect to his Roman predecessors too — especially Naevius, whose style he characterized as primitive.[32] Given these indications of Ennius' punctilious sense of his place in the tradition of poetry, the racehorse simile assumes a larger significance. Victory in the horse race was specifically associated with lyric poetry.[33] Why raise such associations, if not to evoke and to acknowledge the lyric (Pindaric) element which he has incorporated into his multifaceted style?

Even at the purely formal level the influence of the lyric style in Ennian epic is detectable. Of Pindar's imagery Bowra writes the following:

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[29]My thanks to J. E. G. Zetzel for drawing my attention to this aspect of Callimachus' work.

[30]*Augustus and the New Poetry* (Bruxelles 1967), pp. 45-48.

[31]*Lucilius und Kallimachos* (Frankfurt am Main 1949).

[32]213-14 V.: "scripsere alii rem / versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant." The context and reference of the fragment are known from its source: Cic. *Brut.* 76.

[33]Horace, *A.P.* 83-84: "Musa dedit fidibus.../...et equum certamine primum."

> The extensive use of imagery is a heritage not from epic but from lyric and elegiac song.... Pindar's imagery evokes a mental picture which by its unexpected application gives a new character to a theme. In its simplest forms it means that one sensible object is brought into close relation with another, and from the alliance of the two emerges a complex notion which works by pictorial means, but does not appeal directly to the eye.[34]

This observation could be applied equally well to Ennius' use of metaphor.[35] A good example is provided by the phrase "*aedificant nomen*" in the following passage:

> Reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt,
> aedificant nomen: summa nituntur opum vi.[36]

The image of kings building their *nomen* into an *aedes* simultaneously evokes the palace, the temple, the mausoleum, and the too ephemeral nature of them all. It works more by suggestion than by description and, in doing so, embodies the idiosyncratic polysemies of the lyric style, rather than unfolding its meaning in the more linear manner of epic narrative. When Ennius speaks of troops advancing "in an iron cloudburst" (*fit ferreus imber:* 284 V.), or of the Roman army "drying themselves off from sleep" (*sese exsiccat somno:* 469 V.), or of a ravaging enemy "shaving down the rich fields" (*deque totondit agros laetos:* 495 V.[37]), he is transforming the nature of epic description. These vivid, jarring metaphors have their place in the more restless, agitated style of lyric.[38]

In a seminal essay entitled "Die Kreuzung der Gattungen,"[39] W. Kroll demonstrated that the traditional genres of poetry tended to lose their specific functions and associations during the Hellenistic period. As all the genres became more artificial, they all became more alike. This tendency was especially pronounced in the humbler forms of mime, epigram and even elegy, which had always been less subject to the formalist constraints of an antecedent tradition. But the loftiest genre, heroic epic, appears to have been so bound by tradition as to be

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[34] *Pindar* (Oxford 1964), pp. 240-41.

[35] "Besonders kenntlich ist es, wie Ennius bemüht ist, ein bezeichnendes Wort für die Sache zu finden, der er einen starken poetischen Ausdruck geben will, oder wie er mit Kühnheit der glücklichen Eingebung folgt" — F. Leo, *Geschichte der röm. Literatur* I (Berlin 1913), p. 175.

[36] 411-12 V.

[37] *deque totondit* Merula; *detotondit* cdd.

[38] Leo (*loc. cit.,* above, note 35) collects the following additional examples: 225, 253, 278, 308, 316, 335, 348.

[39] *Studien zum Verständnis der röm. Literatur* (Stuttgart 1924), pp. 202-24.

virtually beyond legitimate experimentation.[40] Indeed it was perhaps partly the ossification of epic, its lack of opportunity for creative experimentation, which lay behind Callimachus' famous condemnation of the form. It is true that Apollonius' *Argonautica* differs in scale, emphasis, and dramatic interest from Homeric epic, but the general style is very consciously that of Homer.[41] Of Hellenistic historical epic, even granting that it was the ostensible genre of the *Annales,* not enough is known to permit one to judge whether Ennius' "lyric" *contaminatio* is original with him. But the obvious conclusion seems the best one: namely, that Ennius transformed epic style as part of a reborn tradition of epic poetry, one based on a new language, a new Homer, and *neclegentia.*[42]

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4

Comic Elements in Catullus 51[1]

J. K. NEWMAN

The problem has been how to fit the *otium* stanza at the end on to the rest of the poem. E. Fraenkel has pointed to the hellenistic sequence of thought inside this stanza: *otium* can be ruinous because it induces *luxuria*, τρυφή. *Beatas* is important: the cities brought low by *otium* could, for a time at least, afford vice. Theophrastus had already defined love as πάθος ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης, which may be latinized as *passio animi otiosi.*[2]

This theme may also be traced in New Comedy, the genre for which Theophrastus' *Characters* so evidently prepare the way. The opening monologue of Diniarchus in the *Truculentus* is relevant here. Like Lucretius later (*De Rer. Nat.* IV. 1123 ff.), Diniarchus bitterly comments on love's expensiveness. And, like Catullus, he associates the high cost of loving with *otium*. He has been speaking of the swelling bank accounts of the *lenones:*

> postremo id magno in populo multis hominibus
> re placida atque **otiosa**, victis hostibus:
> amare oportet omnis qui quod dent habent. (74-76)

> "Finally, in a time of baby boom, with peace and leisure thanks to the defeat of our external foes, there is this: the duty of every man with something to give is — to be a lover."

Otium is a leitmotif of the scene: cf. *otiosum*, 136; *otium*, 138; *otiosus*, 142 and 152.

No doubt Catullus' last stanza (and Catullus' other poetry) shares something with Plautine New Comedy (cf. *Pseudolus* 64 ff.), but how does that help the unity of poem 51? How do these discrepant lines about *otium* harmonize with the tone of the rest of the poem, in which editors usually hear a univocal declaration of unrestrained infatuation? Because poem 51 itself advertises, by an ostentatious departure from Sappho in its second line, a Plautine, comic connection. This line is the famous *ille, si fas est, superare divos* which, like the last stanza, has also been in trouble with those who expect a translation to be a translation (as if such an expectation made any sense when we are dealing with the Romans!).[3] Editors confine themselves here to comment about the "pious restraint" of *si fas est*,[4] while completely failing to notice the characteristic use of *superare*. Yet a simple glance at the first chapter of Fraenkel's *Elementi plautini in Plauto* establishes the importance of this key word in Plautus' comic imagination. So, for example, *Aulularia* 701-02:

> Picis divitiis, qui aureos montis colunt,
> ego solus[5] **supero**...

Persa 1-2:

> Qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris vias
> **superavit** aerumnis suis aerumnas Herculei.

Cistellaria 203-05:

> Credo ego Amorem primum apud homines carnificinam commentum.
> Hanc ego de me coniecturam domi facio, ni foris quaeram,
> qui omnis homines **supero,** antideo cruciabilitatibus animi.

Pseudolus 1244:

> **superavit** dolum Troianum atque Ulixem Pseudolus.

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[3]Kroll, for example, says (p. 92) that this line is "ein ziemlich müssiger Zusatz C's in seiner Manier...." See also Fraenkel's "infelice aggiunta," quoted below.

[4]"Catullus would avoid saying anything impious (Westphal)" — Robinson Ellis, *ad loc.* In fact, *si fas est* is a signal that the poet is intent on abandoning the normal bounds of convention, rather as the English idiom "If I may say so" betokens hyperbole of some kind. In Naevius' epitaph (Morel, *Frag. Poet. lat.,* p. 28, no. 64) the *itaque* would make no sense if the *si foret fas flere* of the opening were not taken as conceded. See also the epigram on Scipio by Ennius (Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* I, p. 400, 3-4), mentioned below, where *si fas est* introduces an outrageous piece of hellenistic flattery.

[5]On *solus* here, with which may be compared the Ennian / Virgilian *unus* applied to Fabius Maximus, cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Berlin 1913), p. 245 and note 1. Ennius uses it of the elder Scipio in his epigram (above, note 4), and it is still echoing in the Byzantine Acclamations: e.g. μόνε ἀγαθέ to Justinian: P. Maas, *Byz. Zeit.* xxi (1912), p. 31. Compare *quoniam tu solus sanctus* in the Gloria of the Mass; *Rev.* 15. 4.

If we follow Fraenkel, from whom these examples are taken, in extending our search to synonyms of *superare* such as *antideo* (*Cist.* 205 *supra*), *antecedo, antevenio, numquam / haud aeque,* the phenomenon becomes even more striking. In all cases, there is a typical desire to outdo some divine, mythical or collectively human precedent.

Fraenkel naturally notes the application of this to Catullus,[6] but he is not right when he calls it the "infelice aggiunta catulliana alle parole di Saffo," (and even if it were *infelice* that would still not excuse editors' silence). The attitude revealed by Plautus' *superare* is not unique to Plautus. The belief that the modern, Roman world is not the degenerate descendant of a glorious past (Homer's οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι, Hesiod's Age of Iron), but can both recall and outdo it, is deeply ingrained in the Roman temperament. The topic may be followed from Ennius, Plautus' contemporary, through Propertius, Lucan, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Byzantine epigram, to Dante.[7] Claudian, for example, is the inheritor of a long tradition when he writes (*In Rufinum* I. 283-84): *taceat* **superata** *vetustas....* "The days of old are surpassed; let them keep silence and cease to compare Hercules' labours with thine."[8] This *taceat*, of which Martial is fond (*Lib. Spect.* 6. 3; 28. 11) finds an echo in Dante: *taccia Lucano...taccia...Ovidio* (*Inferno* 25. 94 and 97). The *cedat* topos (cf. Prop. II. 2. 13 *cedite iam, divae;* 34B. 65 *cedite, Romani scriptores* etc.: Lucan VII. 408 *cedant feralia nomina Cannae:* Martial, *Lib. Spect.* 1. 7 *cedit: A.P.* IX. 656. 11 εἶξον) is obviously a variant. The Propertian examples in particular seem to link both Catullus (*divae / divos*) and Dante (*Romani scriptores / Lucano...Ovidio*).

The classical Greeks did not think this way,[9] and in poem 64 Catullus does not think this way either, though what he says at the end there is to be tempered by the realization that the poem is part of that central cycle of long poems which lends such *gravitas* to his *nugae*.[10] Is this inconsistency simply poetic privilege, or is the poet telling us something? It is not after all Catullus in poem 51 who seems to outdo the gods, but *ille. Ego sum* **ille** *rex Philippus* says Lyconides' slave in the *Aulularia* (704). And, in a strongly Ennian passage, Virgil writes: *tun*

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[6] *Elementi plautini,* p. 14, note 1.

[7] Cf. Otto Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (Stuttgart 1928), pp. 30 ff.; E. R. Curtius, *Römische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1948), pp. 168-72.

[8] Loeb translation by Maurice Platnauer, 1, p. 47. Cf. Plautus, *Persa* 2, quoted above.

[9] E. Fraenkel on *Agamemnon* 532. Pindar's remark at *P.* 6. 44: τὰ μὲν παρίκει· τῶν νῦν δέ is especially noteworthy.

[10] G. Jachmann, "Sappho und Catull," *Rheinisches Museum* 107 (1964), p. 18, note 44, refers us indeed to Cat. 68. 141.

Maximus ***ille*** *es,* / *Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem?* (*Aen.* VI. 845-46. The telling *unus* should be noted: cf. Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 56). Indeed, we already know Catullus' *si fas est* from an epigram of Ennius on the elder Scipio, where Scipio is made to claim, though hardly with "pious restraint," entry to heaven itself.[11]

Catullus' contrast then between *ille* and himself, the *misero* of line 5, with an adjective often used of the comic / elegiac lover,[12] acquires extra dimensions, unknown to Sappho. Catullus is unsuccessful: *ille* is the supremely successful hellenistic hero / prince. In this unequal contest, Catullus' identification of himself with Sappho borders, but of course only borders, on the burlesque, and anticipates Ariosto's Sacripante.[13] Sappho says quite simply that she has "no sight in her eyes." Catullus' *geminā teguntur* / *lumina nocte*, which has puzzled scholars by its audacity, makes the poet almost die like a Homeric or Virgilian warrior.[14] The symptom which is incidental in Sappho, and in Lucretius' imitation, is placed by Catullus emphatically at the end, precisely where it corresponds to Sappho's allusion to death. Lurking behind all this is the familiar antithesis of the rich lover, often a military man, and the "poor poet."

I would like to suggest therefore that a proper understanding of Catullus 51. 2 sets the line in the comic, mock-heroic tradition congenial to the Roman temperament:[15] that such a perspective enables us to unite the *otium* stanza, also treating a comic theme, more easily with the rest of the poem:[16] and that accordingly in Catullus' translation of Sappho an element of ironic, Alexandrian self-mockery, found elsewhere in the poet, makes it dangerous to interpret the poem as an early and unambiguous declaration of love.

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[11] Above, notes 4 and 5.

[12] R. Pichon, *De Sermone Amatorio apud latinos Elegiarum Scriptores* (Paris 1902), pp. 202-03: *Thes. Ling. Lat.* vol. 8, col. 1103, 18 ff.

[13] *Orlando Furioso* I. 43. The king quotes, without perhaps quite realizing what he is doing, from the girls' chorus at Catullus 62. 39 ff.

[14] A. Turyn, *Studia Sapphica, Eus Supplementa* 6 (Lvov 1929), pp. 48-50: cf. H. Akbar Khan, "Color Romanus in Catullus 51," *Latomus* 25 (1966), p. 459.

[15] *Italum acetum,* Hor. *Sat.* I. 7. 32. Perhaps this national propensity explains Quintilian's complacent *satura tota nostra est.*

[16] The final vision of devastation (*et reges prius et beatas* / *perdidit urbes*) now corresponds to the latent antithesis described at the end of the previous paragraph. Catullus knows why he inevitably loses against his rival.

5

The Warp and Woof of the Universe in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*

JANE McINTOSH SNYDER

"I see the World, a vital web, self-woven... / with Space for warp and Time for woof." So was the world envisioned by George Cram Cook,[1] novelist, poet, and founder of the Provincetown Players, who met his untimely death in Greece in 1924 and lies buried in the foreign quarter of the little cemetery overlooking the ruins of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Cook, himself an ardent admirer of the Classics, presents here an image which appears frequently in ancient literature — the image of the weaving of fabric on a loom as a metaphor for creation and creativity.[2] Lucretius in particular, in his great epic poem *De Rerum Natura,* seems to have been struck by the usefulness of the warp-weighted loom — a familiar part of every Roman's daily life — as a reference point for visualizing the universe as the fabric of Nature's design, woven together from the warp and woof of the atoms.

Much has been written on various important images which recur in Lucretius' poem — light and darkness, the honey on the rim of the cup, love and death, and so on; but aside from the sensitive notes in Smith's commentary, little attention has been paid to the persistent images in *De Rerum Natura* which are drawn from the art of weaving.[3]

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[1] *Roderick Taliaferro: A Story of Maximilian's Empire* (New York 1903), p. 469. For recent studies of Cook's work and influence, see Susan C. Kemper, "The Novels, Plays, and Poetry of George Cram Cook, Founder of the Provincetown Players" (Diss., Bowling Green State University, 1982) and Robert Sarlós, *Jig Cook and the Provincetown Players: Theatre in Ferment* (Amherst 1982).

[2] See J. M. Snyder, "The Web of Song: Weaving Imagery in Homer and the Lyric Poets," *Classical Journal* 76 (1981), pp. 193-96.

[3] W. E. Leonard and S. B. Smith, edd., *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura* (Madison 1965). As G. Townend notes: "... Lucretius draws on the whole range of his experience

Through the repeated use of words like *exordia* (literally "warp," hence the derived meaning "beginning"), *textura,* and *texere,* to list but a few, Lucretius keeps the image of Nature's cosmic loom before our eyes throughout the six books of his epic. A brief analysis of the occurrences of weaving imagery in the work will show that the loom helped to shape not only Lucretius' conception of the world, but also his view of his role in weaving together the words to describe that world for his reader.

The use of the upright, warp-weighted loom for both domestic and industrial production of cloth in Greek and Roman society is well known and needs no elaboration here.[4] These looms consisted of a tall vertical frame, from which the warp threads were suspended and held taut by weights attached at the bottom. The weaving began at the top as the shuttle was passed back and forth through the warp to create the weft (or woof); each strand of weft was then beaten up tightly against the strands above it with a comb in order to create a firm weave. Such looms must have been a common sight in Italian households in Lucretius' day, and indeed, for generations before his time. Lucretius himself displays an intimate awareness of the mechanics of the loom when he names several of its working parts in his description of the origins of weaving:

> Nexilis ante fuit vestis quam textile tegmen.
> textile post ferrumst, quia ferro tela paratur,
> nec ratione alia possunt tam levia gigni
> insilia ac fusi radii scapique sonantes. (V. 1350-53)

> Braided clothes existed before woven garments. Woven clothing came after iron, for iron was necessary for the making of the loom; otherwise the heddle rods [?] couldn't be so smooth, nor the spindles and shuttles and rattling bobbins [?].[5]

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to provide terms for the behaviour of natural objects, and particularly of the atoms. These utterly impersonal and purposeless little bodies...are continually described in language derived from men and their activities" ("Imagery in Lucretius," ed. D. R. Dudley, *Lucretius: Studies in Latin Literature and Its Influence* [London 1965], p. 96). See also below, note 14.

[4]See, for example, Grace M. Crowfoot, "Of the Warp-Weighted Loom," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 37 (1936), pp. 36-47; Walter O. Moeller, "The Male Weavers at Pompeii," *Technology and Culture* 10 (1969), pp. 561-66; Wesley Thompson, "Weaving: A Man's Work," *Classical World* 75 (1982), pp. 217-22. A comprehensive history of the warp-weighted loom in Nordic and European countries, with a brief chapter on classical antiquity, may be found in Marta Hoffmann, "The Warp-Weighted Loom," *Studia Norvegica* 14 (1964), pp. 1-425. A helpful side-view diagram is available in John Peter Wild, "The Warp-Weighted Loom," *Antiquity* 52 (1978), p. 59.

In many ways this passage raises more questions than it answers, for we cannot be sure whether the poet means that iron tools were used to plane the parts of the loom mentioned or whether some of the parts themselves were made of iron; nor can we be certain exactly which parts of the loom are named. Lucretius simply assumes that his reader requires no explanation of a piece of familiar household equipment. Indeed, most allusions to weaving in ancient literature make the same assumption, with the result that our knowledge of the mechanics of the craft must be based more on analogy with weaving in other cultures than on direct reports in Greek and Roman authors. The assumption of readers' familiarity with the operations of weaving led to frequent allusions, to which we should be alert; as Crowfoot observes, "weaving and spinning were such common features of daily life that poets and playwrights expected their hearers to pick up any witty or fanciful allusion — a pun, the merest hint — to any tool or operation connected with them."[6]

The prominence of weaving as a source of imagery for Lucretius may be seen at the outset of his presentation of the atomic theory in Book I. Immediately after the introduction, the poet announces:

principium cuius hinc nobis **exordia** sumet,
nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus umquam. (I. 149-150)

Although *exordium* had by the first century B.C. already acquired its rhetorical sense of "beginning of a speech," its literal meaning had not been supplanted; in fact, Quintilian still uses the word in its literal as well as its rhetorical sense.[7] Here, Lucretius' use of the plural, *exordia,* suggests that he is thinking primarily of the root meaning of the term: *exordium* is from *exordior,* "to lay the warp of," "to begin a web," and in the plural would thus seem best to be translated as "warp threads." Lucretius is not so much proclaiming that he is about to make a speech on atomic theory as that he is setting up the essential foundation on

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[5]The translation of some of the terms is debatable: *insilia* is of uncertain derivation, but if it is connected with *insilio*, "to jump," it might refer to the heddle rod which had to be pulled out toward the weaver every other time the shuttle was passed through the warp strands; *scapus* is taken by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* to refer to the heddle rod, but L. A. MacKay, "Notes on Lucretius," *American Journal of Philology* 77 (1956), p. 67, argues persuasively that it is the term for bobbin.

[6]Crowfoot (above, note 4), p. 38.

[7]*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *exordior* and *ordior* (cf. also *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*). For Quintilian's literal use of the term, see *Inst.* V. 10. 71. He explains (IV. 1. 1) that the beginning of a speech is called *exordium* in Latin and *prooemium* in Greek, and that he prefers the Greek term since it points more directly to the introductory nature of this portion of a speech. Lucretius' contemporary, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (I. 3. 4), however, uses the term *exordium*.

which the atomic theory rests.

In the next section of Book I, Lucretius repeatedly uses weaving metaphors to elucidate the companion theory that nothing can be reduced to nothing. In his contrary-to-fact arguments in support of the hypothesis *nil ad nihilum,* he seems to be suggesting that the atoms themselves form the warp and woof out of which substances are woven:

> denique res omnis eadem vis causaque vulgo
> conficeret, nisi materies aeterna teneret
> inter se **nexus** minus aut magis **indupedita.**
> tactus enim leti satis esset causa profecto,
> quippe ubi nulla forent aeterno corpore quorum
> **contextum** vis deberet dissolvere quaeque.
> at nunc, inter se quia **nexus** principiorum
> dissimiles constant aeternaque materies est,
> incolumi remanent res corpore, dum satis acris
> vis obeat pro **textura** cuiusque reperta. (I. 238-247)

Lucretius once again calls to mind the image of the woven fabric later in Book I when, after establishing the existence of the void, he asserts that matter itself is absolutely solid, and that the atoms themselves can in no way be "unwoven" by external forces (*retexi,* I. 529). Although he has suggested earlier that *substances* can be "unwoven" once a sufficiently strong force penetrates their entwined atoms, he takes pains here to reiterate that the *corpora prima* themselves are not susceptible to any such unraveling process.

Given the pattern of weaving imagery established in Book I, it is not surprising that the next occurrence of the word *exordia* in the poem refers not to Lucretius' attempts to lay down the foundation of the Epicurean system but to the atoms themselves, the threads of existence:

> Nunc age iam deinceps cunctarum **exordia** rerum
> qualia sint et quam longe distantia formis
> percipe, multigenis quam sint variata figuris. (II. 333-35)

Indeed, all the remaining instances of *exordia* in the poem refer either to the atoms themselves or to some kind of cosmic "beginnings" closely linked to the atoms.[8]

Although the poet uses a variety of names for the atoms, one of his favorite terms is *primordia.* Lucretius' awareness of the component elements of the term is proven by his reference to the atoms in the same passage both as *ordia prima* (IV. 28) and as *primordia* (IV. 41) —

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[8]Atoms: III. 31, 380; IV. 45, 114; V. 677. "Beginnings" of earth, sea, etc.: II. 1062; V. 331, 430, 471.

literally "first warp-threads." It is likely, then, that the extended metaphor of weaving is introduced into the poem not with *exordia* in I. 149, but with *primordia* in I. 55, when Lucretius first sets forth the concept of atoms, calling them *primordia,* then adding the synonymous terms *genitalia corpora, semina rerum,* and *corpora prima.*

In addition to providing Lucretius with a vocabulary for describing the atoms as *primordia* and *exordia,* the art of weaving seems also to have furnished the poet a convenient model for his conception of the "vertical universe." His discussions of atomic movements in Book II make clear that he thinks of the atoms as falling continually downward through empty space, except when they occasionally deviate from their paths through the mysterious forces of the atomic swerve (II. 216-93). The language Lucretius chooses in the section preceding the description of the swerve reveals the underlying image of the upright loom.

The atoms, Lucretius asserts, move continually downward in constant bombardment with other atoms; only those with *condenso conciliatu* (100; *condensēre* is the term for beating up the weft) offer any resistance to such blows, since they are "intertwined by their own interwoven shapes" (*indupedita suis perplexis ipsa figuris,* 102).[9] As an illustration of this motion, Lucretius tells us to look at the bombardment of tiny particles in a sunbeam (114-15) when the "shafts" (*radii,* the word for shuttles) of sunlight are "inserted" (*inserti*) into the dark places of a house. We may note that the language here closely resembles the terminology in Ovid's description of the weaving contest between Athena and Arachne, in which sharp shuttles are inserted in the weft:

inseritur medium **radiis** subtemen acutis. (*Met.* VI. 56)

Finally, Lucretius asserts that the atoms which fall downwards are being borne along by the force of their own weights (*ponderibus,* II. 88 and 218). In referring to the *pondera* of the atoms, Lucretius employs the same word that is used to describe the loom-weights attached to the ends of the warp strands.[10] Although we cannot be certain, it is possible that Lucretius' extensive use of weaving metaphors here to describe the motions of the atoms derives directly from Epicurus himself, who employs the terms περιπλοκή, ("interlacing") and πλεκτικός ("entwined") with reference to atomic movement (*Ep. ad Hdt.* 43).

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[9]On *(con)densēre,* see Varro *Ling.* V. 113 (*densum a dentibus pectinis quibus feritur*); and cf. Lucr. VI. 482: *et quasi densendo subtexit caerula nimbis.*

[10]See Sen. *Ep.* 90. 20 for the terms *pondera, radii,* etc. (in the context of a discussion of Posidonius' treatment of the art of weaving as a feature of the development of civilization).

Many other passages reveal how often Lucretius draws on the weaving process as a source for his descriptions. For example, in his proof that the atoms of the soul are very small, smooth, and round, he states that the lack of reduction in size or weight of a corpse as compared to the living body shows

> quam tenui constet **textura** quamque loco se
> contineat parvo, si possit **conglomerari**....(III. 209-10)[11]

He goes on to argue that the atoms of the *anima* are "intertwined" among the veins, flesh, and sinews of the body (*nexam per venas viscera nervos,* III. 217; cf. III. 691).

The discussion of the *simulacra* in Book IV is similarly infused with images drawn from the art of weaving. Lucretius claims that sometimes the "films" emanating from the surface of objects are diffuse, like smoke, whereas other times they are more "woven together" and "beaten together" (*contexta...condensaque,* IV. 57). All of these *simulacra* can flit about quickly because they are endowed with such a "fine thread" (*subtili...filo,* IV. 88).

Woven fabrics also give Lucretius the occasion for a practical experiment which he describes in connection with his proof that the atoms do not themselves have color. He says that if you tear a bright purple cloth apart thread by thread (*filatim,* II. 831), you will notice that the color gradually fades away, so that you may conclude that the color would be lost altogether before the cloth was reduced to its component atoms.[12]

The pervasiveness of weaving imagery on a readily apparent level leads one to question whether Lucretius' poem may not also contain more subtle examples, particularly in the light of the poet's fondness for verbal play.[13] Consider the wording of Lucretius' favorite lines on the darkness of ignorance:

> Hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest
> non **radii** solis neque lucida **tela** diei
> discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque.
> (I. 146-48; II. 59-61; III. 91-93; and VI. 39-41)

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[11]Cf. Lucr. I. 360, *in lanae glomere.*

[12]Other passages containing weaving imagery not discussed in this paper: *contextae:* III. 695; *textura:* IV. 158, 196, 657; VI. 776, 1084; *textus / textum:* IV. 728, 743; V. 94; VI. 351, 997, 1054; *textilis:* II. 35; *subtexere:* V. 466; *nexus:* II. 405; VI. 958; *conectere:* II. 251, 478, 522, 700, 704, 712, 716; III. 691, 740; VI. 1010; *conexus:* I. 633; II. 726, 1020; III. 557; V. 438.

[13]See J. M. Snyder, *Puns and Poetry in Lucretius' De Rerum Natura* (B. R. Grüner, Amsterdam 1980).

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Lucretius intends the reader to absorb the ambiguities inherent in *radii* and *tela,* whereby the rays of the sun are pictured as "shuttles" weaving out the "web" of day. The image is strengthened by the appearance in the very next line of the word *exordia* (149), as Lucretius lays down the "warp threads" of his treatise.[14]

The double level of images in the words *radii* and *tela* is further confirmed in the last occurrence of these same lines in the poem, where they are followed immediately by this line:

quo magis inceptum pergam **pertexere** dictis. (VI. 42)

Significantly, this line, in which Lucretius pictures himself as a weaver of words, echoes his introduction in Book I of the principle that all creation consists only of atoms and void:

Sed nunc ut repetam coeptum **pertexere** dictis,
omnis, ut est igitur per se, natura duabus
constitit in rebus; nam corpora sunt et inane,
haec in quo sita sunt et qua diversa moventur. (418-21)

It is hardly surprising that Lucretius connects his own creativity as a poet with weaving, which in turn is connected with creation itself. That Lucretius sees words and the world as closely linked is shown in his repeated analogy with the *elementa,* a term he uses to refer both to the letters which make up the words of his poetry and to the atoms which combine to form the stuff of the universe.[15]

Lucretius as weaver demonstrates the complexity of nature's design, whereby apparent opposites, such as creation and destruction, are united in an interwoven whole. His intricate tapestry reveals the warp and woof of the atomic structure, and through his words we see before our eyes the vital web of the universe.[16]

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[14]David West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius* (Edinburgh 1969), pp. 80-82 discusses the underlying loom imagery of this passage and paraphrases its effect. He notes the twice repeated phrase, *radiisque retexens aetherius sol* (V. 267 and 389).

[15]See Snyder (above, note 13), pp. 31-45.

[16]Thanks are due to the following present and former students of mine at Ohio State University for stimulating discussions and various other forms of assistance in the preparation of this study: Eugene Baron, Dr. Arnold Cohen, Scott Fisher, and Mary Ingle.

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Virgil and the Elegiac Sensibility[1]

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It would, I imagine, be generally agreed that any respectable anthology of Latin love poetry should include Virgil's second and eighth *Eclogues* — and probably also the tenth. Critics have constantly emphasized the elegiac character of these poems; and as early as the first century A.D. we find it taken for granted that Corydon in *Eclogue* 2 was Virgil himself. In the naively biographical form in which the ancient sources moot the idea it is obviously untenable;[2] but it is difficult not to sympathize with (for instance) Karl Büchner's intuition that the poem is "ein Symbol seiner Seele"[3] — that it reflects in an immediate way the poet's own experience of thwarted love. In this study I propose to touch on the already complex picture of what we know or can infer about the process of literary creation that issued in these apparently very personal poems. I will, as it were, take as my text some words of my friend and colleague Mr. Robert Coleman, who ends an eminently judicious note on the ancient biographical explanations of the second *Eclogue* with this sentence: "Whatever views we take of the poem's genesis do not affect our appreciation of it as a literary creation, in which Vergil's originality has blended a number of traditional elements to form a truly elegiac pastoral."[4] The same remark, *mutatis mutandis,* would apply with equal force to the eighth *Eclogue;* and with it in mind I want to try to tease out, so to say, one strand of the literary web which has a particular

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[1]A lecture intended to be delivered (*dis aliter uisum*) in the University of Leeds on 2 March 1982 as part of a commemoration of the two-thousandth anniversary of the death of Virgil.

[2]See R. Coleman, ed., *Vergil Eclogues* (Cambridge 1977), pp. 108-109.

[3]K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro, der Dichter der Römer* (Stuttgart 1957), p. 170 = *RE* VIIIA, col. 1190.

[4]Coleman (above, note 2), p. 109.

bearing on the elegiac characteristics of the two poems.

This is learned poetry, derivative and obliquely allusive. That was the tradition which Virgil inherited and espoused. Originality was a function of choice from and variations upon existing models. What cannot be predicted is where the choice might fall: *which* particular incident or theme in earlier poetry was likely to appeal to the later poet, to set his imagination to work in its turn. In the context of the present discussion the question suggests itself in connection above all with Cornelius Gallus, the progenitor of Roman love-elegy, friend of Virgil, first favored and then disgraced by Augustus, whose surviving works were, until 1979, comprised in a single pentameter. In that year was published the now famous papyrus from Qaṣr Ibrîm which increased the corpus some tenfold.[5] It cannot in my view be maintained that we now know very much more than we did about Gallus' poetry — at least about the sort of things we (perhaps I should say I) most want to know. We do have a lot more questions. For a sense of what Gallus meant to Virgil in particular we must still fall back on the indirect evidence of the sixth and tenth *Eclogues*. On the basis of that evidence the conclusion that I draw is that it was not so much the quality of Gallus' poetry that caught the fancy of his contemporaries and (albeit, one suspects, largely at second hand) his successors, as his role in mediating certain Alexandrian motifs. In that sense a line like the pentameter that I have mentioned,

uno tellures diuidit amne duas,[6]

with its laboriously contrived structure reflecting the topographical content, may be more representative of Gallus' importance than the new fragment. But the arsenals of divine vengeance — in this case the rubbish-heaps of ancient Egypt — are still in business and may yet confute me.

The particular motif from which this train of thought arises is found in the tenth *Eclogue*, where Gallus, dying of unrequited love, is made to say that he is resolved to withdraw to the woods and suffer as best he may, carving the name of Lycoris on the young trees:

certum est in siluis inter spelaea ferarum
malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores
arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores. (*Ecl.* 10. 52-54)

[5]R. D. Anderson, P. J. Parsons, R. G. M. Nisbet, "Elegiacs by Gallus from Qaṣr Ibrîm," *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979), pp. 125-55.

[6]*Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*, p. 99 Morel. Cf. D. O. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan poetry: Gallus, elegy and Rome* (Cambridge 1975), p. 39.

The motif of carving the name of the beloved on the trees is found in one of Theocritus' non-pastoral *Idylls* (18. 47-8) and in Hellenistic epigram (Glaucus, *A.P.* IX. 341 = 1819-24 G.-P., anon. 12, 130 = 3762-67). But Virgil's application of the idea is associated with another notion, that of the hapless lover retiring to the wilderness to nurse his sorrow: and in this form the source of the motif can be quite specifically identified. It is found in Callimachus' *Aetia,* in his story of the love of Acontius and Cydippe; and it is on what Callimachus may have contributed to these elegiac *Eclogues* that I principally want to enlarge here.

Wendell Clausen, in his classic paper, "Callimachus and Latin poetry," has drawn attention to Virgil's use of the word *tenuis* (slight, slender), which is applied to poetry at the beginning of the first and, even more significantly, the sixth *Eclogues.* The word, which renders the Greek λεπτός or λεπταλέος, a Callimachean term, constitutes an oblique but unmistakable assertion that "his pastoral poetry... is Callimachean in character."[7] Clausen indeed suggests that Virgil was the most Callimachean of all Roman poets, that he "was the only Roman poet who ever read the *Aetia* all the way through."[8] I am here to talk about Virgil, not to defend the honor of Ovid, so I pass the implicit challenge by. Whether or not Virgil had read the whole of Callimachus' highly-wrought and erudite poem, his exploitation of this episode, the story of Acontius and Cydippe, was selective; and so was that of the other poets to whose use of it we can point, Propertius and Ovid. What is of interest is *what* they selected and *how* they proceeded to use it.

For those who are not familiar with the story a summary will be helpful.

> Acontius, a beautiful youth from Ceos, fell in love with the equally beautiful Cydippe of Naxos on seeing her at a festival in Delos. He threw in the way of her nurse an apple [quince?] on which he had written 'I swear by Artemis to marry Acontius'. The nurse picked it up and, being illiterate, asked Cydippe to read the inscription, which she did — aloud. She kept the episode to herself and returned to Naxos and to the marriage that her father had already arranged for her. Meanwhile Acontius had betaken himself into the countryside to be alone with his great love and to carve the name of his beloved on the trees. In Naxos a day was three times arranged for Cydippe's

    [7]W. Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin poetry," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964), p. 194. Cf. E. A. Schmidt, *Poetische Reflexionen. Vergils Bukolik* (München 1972), pp. 19-32.

    [8]Clausen (above, note 7), p. 187.

marriage, and three times she mysteriously fell ill so that the wed-
ding could not take place. The fourth time her father went to Delphi
and consulted Apollo, who disclosed the girl's involuntary oath and
advised its fulfilment. So Acontius and Cydippe were married, and
Callimachus' version of the story concluded with the genealogical *ae-
tion* [explanation of origin] which we must take it was the raison
d'être of the story so far as its inclusion in his poem was concerned.[9]

We have extensive fragments of Callimachus' text, and the gaps can be
filled with some approximation to reliability from the Greek prose ver-
sion of the fifth-century epistolographer Aristaenetus. Unfortunately,
for the portion which now concerns us, the description of Acontius'
Waldeinsamkeit and the expostulatory monologue which he delivered to
the trees, we are almost wholly dependent on Aristaenetus. Here Ovid
is no help; he treated the story elaborately in his *Heroides* (20 and 21),
but made no direct use of this episode, partly because it was not ger-
mane to his own approach, but also possibly because it had already
been exploited by Gallus, as the tenth *Eclogue* clearly shows, by Proper-
tius, and, as I shall argue, by Virgil.

I alluded to the *combination* of ideas in Callimachus. This, though
it cannot be proved, is likely to have been due to him. He may indeed
have drawn on an elegy by his contemporary Phanocles, his Ἔρωτες ἢ
καλοί, "Loves or beautiful boys." We have a substantial fragment of
this poem, which begins with three couplets describing how Orpheus
sang of his love for Calais "in the shady woods," σκιεροῖσιν ἐν
ἄλσεσιν.[10] Though Orpheus in this description suffers sleepless pain,
there is no suggestion in Phanocles' text of ideas of withdrawal or soli-
tude; if they were implied, Callimachus made them explicit. Certainly
they are prominent in Propertius' exploitation of the passage, his elegy
I. 18. Propertius' indebtedness to Callimachus in this poem is beyond
question and has been well analyzed by Francis Cairns, who emphasizes
"the wild and solitary circumstances of his utterance."[11] Propertius no
doubt drew on Gallus' adaptation as well, as argued by David Ross[12] —
a reminder of the interlocking character of this poetical tradition. As
Cairns and other commentators have noted, Propertius transformed his
originals by imparting a strongly forensic tone to his lover's soliloquy,
turning it into "a speech for the defence." That kind of bid for

[9]E. J. Kenney, "Law and legalism: Ovid, Heroides 20 and 21," *Arion* 9 (1970), pp.
390-91.

[10]See Phanocles fr. 1. 1-6 Powell.

[11]F. Cairns, "Propertius i. 18 and Callimachus, *Acontius and Cydippe*," *Classical Re-
view* n.s. 19 (1969), p. 133.

[12]Ross (above, note 6), pp. 73-74.

originality was the poet's prerogative; what Virgil made of it was different again — and wholly Virgilian.

Love as a theme of the *Eclogues* makes its first real appearance in the first word of the first line the second *Eclogue* and does so in striking, almost defiant, guise: *formosum* — a beautiful *male*. The next word, in the nominative case, reveals that the lover of the *formosus* is not a woman: *formosum pastor* — a (male) shepherd. So far as sense goes the rest of the line is expendable: we already know the plot. But the last word in the line, the name of the *formosus,* sets the tone for what follows: Alexis belongs to the elegiac rather than the pastoral tradition.[13] Conington's remarks on all this have been much quoted and as often derided: "We should be glad, with Ribbeck, to believe it to be purely imaginary, though even then it is sufficiently degrading to Virgil."[14] But those who, like H. J. Rose, vigorously denounce Conington for (in effect) having been born when he was, are apt to overlook that there is a real problem here, though it is of a literary-historical rather than a moral or biographical order.[15] In the genesis of Roman elegy an important part was played by Hellenistic erotic epigram; and Callimachus had imparted to the genre a strongly homosexual cast. This element the Roman elegists tended to ignore or play down. Catullus was not and is not remembered for the handful of Juventius-poems; and Tibullus (it is an interesting experiment) incorporated his Marathus in a triangle with the poet-lover and the girl Pholoe. Virgil's Corydon is in fact bisexual; and the same might be said, in a different sense, of Callimachus' Acontius. In his treatment of the story, Acontius starts out as *formosus, καλός,* a beautiful boy courted by youths and men. When he falls in love with the beautiful, inaccessible and much sought-after Cydippe he experiences a total bouleversement of his existence — now *he* knows what it is like to be, as it were, on the receiving end, to be in love and have no hope.[16] In any Greek society in which the courting of boys by older males, as documented by Sir Kenneth Dover, was part of the normal social pattern, such reversals were no doubt recurrent dramas of everyday life. We find the idea indeed exploited in an epigram by Meleager (*A.P.* XII. 109 = 4308-11

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[13]Cf. Meleager, *A.P.* XII. 127 = 4420-27 G.-P.; Coleman (above, note 2), *ad loc.;* J. van Sickle, *The design of Virgil's Bucolics* (Rome 1978), p. 125, n. 61.

[14]J. Conington-H. Nettleship, edd., *The works of Virgil* I. *Eclogues and Georgics,* 5th ed. rev. F. Haverfield (London 1898), p. 35.

[15]H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1942), p. 26. Cf. G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968), p. 304: "It is easier to see that [Conington's] is an absurd remark than to explain why Virgil made the change."

[16]Callim. frr. 68, 69 Pf.; Aristaen. I. 10. 7-17 M.

G.-P.), more allusively by Theocritus (*Id.* 7. 117 ff.), and we may perhaps catch a passing whiff of it at the end of Horace's "Soluitur acris hiems." It is here that the apparently decorative detail of the carving of Cydippe's name on the trees becomes significant. Acontius must have been used to seeing his own name written up on walls (this habit is documented, if documentation is needed, by Dover[17]): Ἀκόντιος καλός, "Acontius is fair." Now, suddenly, it is he who is doing the writing, and the name is a girl's: Κυδίππη καλή.[18] The change of gender in the Greek makes a point that Callimachus' readers were better attuned to take than we are; for women were not as a rule the subject of such inscriptions, unless they were no better than they should be — and in that case the message was more likely than not to be abusive.[19]

That Virgil did indeed have the Acontius-story in mind when he wrote the second *Eclogue* is by no means a new suggestion; it has already been argued by (e.g.) Professor La Penna and Mr. Ian DuQuesnay.[20] The idea is not taken up by Mr. Coleman in his commentary, but to my mind it is rendered overwhelmingly probable by consideration of the first five verses of the poem:

> formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin,
> delicias domini, nec quid speraret habebat.
> tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
> adsidue ueniebat. ibi haec incondita solus
> montibus et siluis studio iactabat inani. (*Ecl.* 2. 1-5)

The setting is precisely that of Acontius' outburst, and there is one detail which may come directly from Callimachus: the beeches. In the fifth *Eclogue* Mopsus inscribes his song in the green bark of a beech, *in uiridi... cortice fagi* (5. 13). Furthermore the trees to which Propertius appeals as witnesses and in whose bark he writes the name of Cynthia are specified as beeches and pines, *fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo* (I. 18. 20). Now Aristaenetus, on whom as I have said we are here dependent, makes Acontius utter his lament sitting under the oaks or the

[17]K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978), pp. 111-24.

[18]Callim. fr. 73 Pf.

[19]Dover (above, note 17), pp. 113-14; D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek love-names* (Baltimore 1937), pp. 1-2, 10-11; Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters* (2nd ed., Oxford 1963) II, pp. 1559-1616; *Attic black-figure vase-painters* (Oxford 1956), pp. 676-78.

[20]A. La Penna, "La seconda Ecloga e la poesia bucolica di Virgilio," *Maia* 15 (1963), p. 488; I. M. Le M. DuQuesnay, "From Polyphemus to Corydon," in D. West and T. Woodman, edd., *Creative imitation and Latin literature* (Cambridge 1979), p. 48 and nn. 127, 131.

poplars, φηγοῖς ὑποκαθήμενος ἢ πτελέαις.[21] It is a fair guess, as Cairns and Ross have suggested,[22] that Virgil's *fagi* were borrowed from Callimachus' φηγοί, whether by Virgil himself or Gallus. We are not bound to believe that the two poets, or their successors, were unaware that *fagus* is not an accurate rendering of φηγός, which is a quite different tree. Deliberate mistakes of this kind themselves might count as erudition.[23] What mattered in this case was the Callimachean *sound* of the word in the context. Having used *fagus* in *Eclogue* 2, the earliest of the collection, for these specifically Callimachean associations, Virgil went on to make it a regular feature of the pastoral décor;[24] and it may be more than coincidental that in the collection as arranged for publication the word makes its first appearance in the first line of the first poem — followed closely by the programmatic word *tenuis:*

Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
siluestrem tenui Musam meditaris auena. (*Ecl.* 1. 1-2)

The manner in which Virgil turns the Callimachean Acontius to account is interestingly economical. In effect he dichotomizes him. As καλός, *formosus, puer delicatus,* Acontius becomes Alexis; as disconsolate lover he becomes Corydon — the character into which Virgil is thought to have projected himself. Corydon's role as pursuer is also taken over from Callimachus, from the unnamed pursuers of Acontius. The detail of v. 12 *tua dum uestigia lustro* is evidently lifted from that source, for we read in Aristaenetus that many of Acontius' lovers in

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[21] Aristaen. I. 10. 57 M.

[22] Cairns (above, note 11), p. 133, Ross (above, note 6), p. 72. This is a simpler and more plausible explanation than that suggested by Williams (above, note 15), p. 318: that Virgil was led to adopt the φηγός because he was taken with the simile at Theoc. *Id.* 12. 8-9, where its shade symbolizes the beloved. However, the suggestion (DuQuesnay [above, note 20], p. 40) that he meant his *fagi* to be thought of as oaks rather than beeches strikes me as implausible.

[23] Another case of what might be called learned catachresis is the famous crux at *Ecl.* 8. 58 *omnia uel medium fiat mare.* The idea that Virgil misunderstood πάντα δ' ἔναλλα γένοιτο at Theoc. *Id.* 1. 134 is rightly scouted by most commentators (the error, if he could have committed it, would not have survived the revision in the light of readings to friends which must have preceded the collected edition of the poems); but he cannot have expected the apparent echo to pass unnoticed. It must have been intended as an allusive claim to the poet's right to innovate — but almost always on the basis of an existing model. So with φηγός-*fagus.* An analogous case is Catullus' use of *lepidus* to suggest λεπτός.

[24] Cf. Ross (above, note 6), p. 72: "the *fagus* is, beyond all others perhaps, the tree of the Eclogues."

the violence of their passion fitted their feet into his footsteps.[25] This characterization is imposed on the *dramatis personae* that Virgil took over from his main source, the eleventh *Idyll* of Theocritus. The clownish Cyclops becomes Acontius-Corydon, Galatea becomes Acontius-Alexis. These transformations are part of a general complication and enrichment of the Theocritean original. In that simple plot Virgil has incorporated most of the standard ingredients of love-elegy as we know them from Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid: separation, the rich rival, the heartless beloved, love as infatuation, the lover as a figure of suffering. It is a complete transposition of the elegiac situation into the pastoral mode. What is individual to Virgil and what makes the poem effective and moving is his manner of developing the same hint in Callimachus that Propertius also seized on: the sense of the lover's *isolation*. In Callimachus (Aristaenetus) Acontius appeals to the trees: ''Do *you* feel this passion? Does the cypress feel love for the pine? No, I do not believe it; for in that case you would not simply shed your leaves in your grief, but the sickness of love would burn you right down to trunk and roots.''[26] This idea of alienation Virgil carried even further and did so in an extraordinarily powerful way. In him Corydon seems to stand, as it were, outside nature; as he sings time, for him, stands still, while for the rest of the world the eternal rhythm of life goes on regardless of his suffering. The six verses in which this feeling is conveyed are among the most poignant and haunting in all Latin literature:

> nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant,
> nunc uiridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos,
> Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu
> alia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentis.
> at mecum raucis, tua dum uestigia lustro,
> sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis. (*Ecl.* 2. 8-13)

The final detail of the relentless, endless shrilling of the cicadas somehow crystallizes the vast impersonal indifference of nature towards individual human anguish. It is in the timeless suspense created by this description that Corydon's whole complaint, with as its centre his idealized vision of life in the countryside with the beloved, is uttered; until at the end of the poem he awakes to the realization that it is sunset, that time has not really stood still, and that outside the temporary refuge of his self-pitying fantasies the rhythms of the actual world, in which after all he must seek the solution of his troubles, have gone inexorably on. The tension between that reality and Corydon's wistful

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[25]Aristaen. I. 10. 13-14 M. Cf. Meleager, *A.P.* XII. 84. 5 = 4606 G.-P.

[26]Aristaen. I. 10. 74-79 M.

dreaming "in quest of an elusive world of innocence"[27] — this tension
is what informs the poem. It is not finally resolved; the ending, like
that of *Miser Catulle,* remains ambiguous and ironical.[28] More than one
critic has noted the touches of humor in all this; but in the *Eclogue*'s
pathos tinged now and then with absurdity (as Mr. Coleman puts it),[29]
we have come a long way from the simple comedy of Theocritus' rustic
Cyclops.

In the eighth *Eclogue*[30] Virgil combines and adapts ideas from
several of Theocritus' *Idylls,* most notably the second, the *Pharmaceu-
triae,* which provides the material for the second of the two correspon-
dent songs, that of Alphesiboeus. One feature of his treatment is at
first sight puzzling: admirers of Theocritus' powerful poem are apt to
wonder why Virgil has apparently left out the best part of it — why
Simaetha's narrative of her love for Delphis has been allowed to disap-
pear, leaving only the magic sequence. In fact of course the missing
part has been turned to account elsewhere. In the centre of the magic
ritual stands the singer's prayer:

talis amor Daphnin qualis cum fessa iuuencum
per nemora atque altos quaerendo bucula lucos
propter aquae riuum uiridi procumbit in ulua
perdita, nec serae meminit decedere nocti,
talis amor teneat, nec sit mihi cura mederi. (*Ecl.* 8. 85-89)

This wonderful Lucretian simile, as Mr. Coleman notes, reveals the
speaker's true feelings: "The wistful longing and the weariness of the
searcher belong to *her.*"[31] The picture of *spatially* distant yearning
which is the centrepiece of the second song corresponds both formally
and thematically to the *temporally* distant picture which stands in the
centre of the first song in the *Eclogue,* that of Damon.

[27]Eleanor W. Leach, *Vergil's Eclogues. Landscapes of experience* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1974),
p. 150. It is the same world as that yearned for by Gallus at *Ecl.* 10. 35-41; Leach, p. 159
and n. 22. On the innocence of the pastoral landscape cf. A. Parry, "Landscape in Greek
poetry," *Yale Classical Studies* 15 (1957), p. 10.

[28]A point rightly emphasized by E. A. Schmidt, "Review of Sebastian Posch,
Beobachtungen zur Theokritnachwirkung bei Vergil," *Gnomon* 44 (1972), p. 775, with earlier
literature; cf. DuQuesnay (above, note 20), pp. 58-59.

[29]Coleman (above, note 2), p. 253. For a discussion of the *Eclogue* in which full
justice is done to Virgil's handling of his models see DuQuesnay (above, note 20).

[30]See A. Richter, ed., *Virgile: la huitième Bucolique* (Paris 1970).

[31]Coleman (above, note 2), p. 249 (my italics). There is also a distant echo of
Acontius-Corydon in the idea of a hopeless search for the beloved "per nemora atque al-
tos... lucos"; cf. above, note 25.

This song is a tirade against the perfidy of a girl called Nysa — a typically elegiac theme. Once again the setting is the woods, which form a frame to the song, being referred to or addressed at its beginning (vv. 22-24) and at its end (v. 58). As in Callimachus (Aristaenetus), as in the picture of Gallus in the tenth *Eclogue* (10. 8), and as in Propertius (I. 18), the trees are figured as an audience likely to be in sympathy with the singer's appeal:

> Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis
> semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores
> Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis. (*Ecl.* 8. 22-4)

This is in contrast to the opening of the second *Eclogue,* the implication of which is that Corydon's words are *unheeded* by the woods and hills:

> ibi haec incondita solus
> montibus et siluis studio iactabat **inani**. (*Ecl.* 2. 4-5)

The heart of Damon's song, corresponding to the simile of the heifer at vv. 85-89, is the scene in the orchard:

> saepibus in nostris paruam te roscida mala —
> dux ego uester eram — uidi cum matre legentem.
> alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus,
> iam fragilis poteram a terra contingere ramos.
> ut uidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error! (*Ecl.* 8. 37-41)

The passage has charmed many readers, including Voltaire and Macaulay;[32] perhaps nowhere else in all literature has there been captured in so brief a compass so perfect an evocation of the haunting idea of the lost paradise of childhood — the image so movingly explored by (to mention only one example) Alain Fournier in *Le grand Meaulnes.* As with Fournier, so in Virgil the data have been artfully manipulated. Of the personal experience which engendered Fournier's novel we know a good deal; of Virgil's life we really know very little. What we can document is the treatment of his poetic originals. The broad outlines of the picture are drawn from Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll,* the chief source for *Eclogue* 2, where the Cyclops recalls how he first saw Galatea:

> ἠράσθην μὲν ἔγωγε τεοῦς, κόρα, ἀνίκα πρᾶτον
> ἦνθες ἐμᾷ σὺν ματρὶ θέλοισ' ὑακίνθινα φύλλα
> ἐξ ὄρεος δρέψασθαι, ἐγὼ δ' ὁδὸν ἁγεμόνευον.

<div align="right">(Id. 11. 25-27)</div>

To this Virgil has added Simaetha's recollection of the first time she saw Delphis — what critics resort to French to describe, the *coup de*

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[32]T. Pinney, ed., *The letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay* III (London 1976), p. 62 and n. 4; cf. D. Knowles, *Lord Macaulay 1800-1859* (Cambridge 1960), pp. 26-27.

foudre:

> χὼς ἴδον, ὣς ἐμάνην, ὥς μοι πυρὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη.

> (*Id.* 2. 82)

But the *malus error* in Virgil's adaptation seems to owe something also to the description of Atalanta's love for Hippomenes in the third *Idyll:*

> ὡς ἴδεν, ὣς ἐμάνη, ὣς ἐς βαθὺν ἅλατ᾽ ἔρωτα.

> (*Id.* 3. 42)

The rationale of Virgil's dealings with his originals begins to emerge. If, as suggested by Mr. Coleman, his intention in this *Eclogue* was "to demonstrate that in the face of love's disappointments... success comes not to the gentle and plaintive but to the bold and resourceful,"[33] the passionate retrospection of Simaetha's soliloquy must be transferred to the song in which the failure of the "gentle and plaintive" lover is depicted. This — the essential rightness and the pathetic effect of the idea in its transferred setting — is no doubt the weightiest reason for Virgil's manner of proceeding. But it is possible that other considerations also influenced him.

There is one feature of the love-story of Nysa and her rejected lover that continues to exercise the commentators and for which, so far as I know, no really convincing explanation has been adduced.[34] Nysa is not merely unfaithful in the conventional elegiac sense that she has abandoned her lover for another. She had evidently been formally betrothed to him and is now about to be *married* to Mopsus. The singer's reference to the gods, taken by itself, is inexplicit:

> coniugis indigno Nysae deceptus amore
> dum queror et diuos, quamquam nil testibus illis
> profeci, extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora. (*Ecl.* 8. 18-20)

Virgil, however, must have intended his readers to notice that this is based on a passage in Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis:*

> non tamen ante mihi languescent lumina morte,
> nec prius a fesso secedent corpore sensus,
> quam iustam a diuis exposcam prodita multam
> caelestumque fidem postrema comprecer hora. (64. 188-91)

This comes in Ariadne's famous complaint of the treachery of Theseus — a complaint of desertion *by a husband.* The oath referred to by the singer was one taken by Nysa to *marry* him. All this is quite out of character in the world of Roman elegy, in which betrothal and marriage

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[33]Coleman (above, note 2), p. 255.

[34]Cf. Richter (above, note 30), pp. 29-32, 44-46, 138-40.

do not belong.[35] Words like *uir* and *coniunx* or *coniugium* are used on occasion with calculated ambiguity of the elegiac relationship, but that is different. What we have here is generically incongruous. The difficulty is not met by styling Nysa "an 'Arcadian' wife"[36] — whatever exactly that means. Nowhere else in the *Eclogues* or in Roman love-elegy is there any real analogy for this variant of the jilted lover theme. But there *is* an exactly parallel situation, as we have seen, in Callimachus: his Acontius and Cydippe. Cydippe had actually sworn — albeit unwittingly and unwillingly — to marry Acontius, and she was then betrothed to another man. This looks like the "plot" which was in Virgil's mind when he composed Damon's song.

If so, other parts of the pattern fall into place with a neatness which would be curious if it were altogether accidental.

(1) As we have already noted, Virgil took the general idea of *Ecl.* 8. 37-41 from Theocritus' *Idyll* 11. There it was hyacinths that Galatea was picking; Virgil has changed them to apples. The erotic symbolism of the apple is familiar, and may be seen here as "a promise of amatory experience,"[37] a hint of what was to come; but it is difficult not to be reminded of the role of the apple (or quince: in Greek and Latin the same word may serve) in Acontius' strategem — a role in that story too symbolic as well as practical.

(2) Damon begins and ends his song (vv. 20, 60) with a threat of suicide. This is borrowed from Theocritus (3. 25-27; cf. 3. 42, quoted above); but as in other instances the borrowing takes on additional resonance from (if it was not suggested by) Callimachus, in whom (Aristaenetus) Acontius, on first seeing Cydippe, declared that for him it was now marriage or death, $\mathring{\eta}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu o\nu\ \mathring{\eta}\ \theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau o\nu$.[38]

(3) The motif of overwhelming love at first sight — the *coup de foudre* — was of course familiar in the literary tradition. One thinks of Medea's first sight of Jason in Apollonius' *Argonautica;* and, as we have noted, it was prominent in the Theocritean original(s) of *Ecl.* 8. 37-41. It was also prominent in the Callimachean story: Aristaenetus enlarges on both the violence of the wound dealt by Love to Acontius and also

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[35]The closest parallel adduced by Richter (above, note 30) is Diosc. *A.P.* V. 52 = 1491-96 G.-P. In Roman elegy the notion of marriage is always intrusive: at Ov. *Am.* III. 13. 1 the word *coniunx* (of the poet's actual wife) operates like a dash of cold water, dramatizing the break with love-elegy and the (ostensible) way of life entailed by it and the new departure into aetiological elegy, of which the poem itself is a sample.

[36]Coleman (above, note 2), p. 231.

[37]Leach (above, note 27), p. 154.

[38]Aristaen. I. 10. 21 M.

on its instantaneous operation;[39] and here his witness is borne out by
that of Ovid:

> Ordine fac referas ut sis mihi cognita primum,
>   sacra pharetratae dum facit ipsa deae;
> ut te conspecta subito, si forte notasti,
>   restiterim fixis in tua membra genis,
> et, te dum nimium miror, nota certa furoris,
>   deciderint umero pallia lapsa meo.   (*Her.* 20. 203-08)

It is possible that the idea of borrowing the motif of *Ecl.* 8. 37-40 from
Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 and combining it with the motif of love at first sight
from *Idyll* 2 may have been suggested to Virgil by the part played by
the latter motif in the Callimachean story.

(4) Connected with this last point is the emphasis on the power of
love, Amor, in Damon's song. The words "nunc scio quid sit Amor"
(43), "now I know what manner of thing is Love," are based directly
on Theocritus (*Id.* 3. 15); but the emphasis and perhaps the borrowing
itself may have been suggested by Callimachus. In him Acontius' reac-
tions to the wound dealt him by Love and the poet's own comments
(here the fragments, Aristaenetus and Ovid all tell the same tale) com-
bine to stress the power of this arbitrary god to change the course of a
man's life.

(5) In Theocritus, Galatea and her mother are picking flowers
"on the hill" and Polyphemus shows them the way. In Virgil the
meeting takes place "saepibus in nostris," in an enclosed orchard. In
Callimachus (Aristaenetus), Acontius first saw Cydippe in the precinct
of Artemis and plucked his apple (quince) from the garden of Aphro-
dite.[40]

(6) When the singer and Nysa first met they were mere children.
One French commentator was driven to invoke "southern precocity" to
account for the violence of the singer's childish passion.[41] In Theo-
critus, Polyphemus is an adolescent, "with the down new on his lips
and temples"; he has loved Galatea since the encounter on the hillside,
but there is nothing in the text to indicate how long ago that took place.
Virgil goes out of his way to emphasize that this was indeed child-love:
the singer just twelve and Nysa small — *paruam*. And whereas in
Theocritus Galatea was accompanied by *Polyphemus'* mother, in Virgil,

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[39]Aristaen. I. 10. 17-20, 24 M.; cf. Callim. fr. 70 Pf. See also K. Kost, ed., *Musaios
Hero und Leander* (Bonn 1971), pp. 273-74 and n. 282.

[40]Aristaen. I. 10. 24-26 M.

[41]Guillemin, cit. Richter (above, note 30), p. 51. As Richter comments, "Ce n'est
plus l'enfant qui parle, mais l'homme."

hough the words "cum matre" are ambiguous, no doubt intentionally
o, to avoid making the change from the model inartistically obvious,
hey most naturally mean, and are generally taken to mean, "with *your*
nother." This too squares with Callimachus, where Acontius is still a
retty boy, not a hobbledehoy, and Cydippe is called small, ὀλίγην,[42]
f which *paruam* is a literal rendering. We do not learn from Cal-
machus (Aristaenetus) that Cydippe was with her mother when she
isited the sanctuary where Acontius saw her, but this detail is in
)vid's adaptation of the story.[43]

(7) The two songs of *Eclogue* 8 both correspond and contrast with
ach other. Damon's song ends with an invocation of chaos and a
hreat of suicide, Alphesiboeus' with the return of Delphis from the
ity. To the "happy ending" of *Eclogue* 8 there is no counterpart in
ither the second or the eleventh *Idylls* of Theocritus, both of which
lose on a note of frustrated longing. It is a fair guess that the happy
nding may have been imported from the Acontius story.

No single item in this list, which is not exhaustive, is cogent
aken in isolation, and some are admittedly speculative. All together
hey seem to me to lend weight to the likelihood — to put it no more
trongly — that Virgil had Callimachus very much in his mind when he
vrote the eighth *Eclogue,* even more than when he wrote the second.
n making this suggestion I am not of course seeking to imply that it
mounts to an explanation of why the poems are what they are. The
ransformation which Virgil wrought in the ideas and materials which
ie took from earlier poetry remains unforeseeable and individual to
iim. Critics have sensed that in Corydon there is much of Virgil him-
elf;[44] and the beauty and intensity of the two complementary vignettes
ound which the songs of the eighth *Eclogue* are constructed may seem
o some to authorize a similar inference. That is as it may be. It is
iotoriously fallacious to read the biography of a poet from his poetry.
Vordsworth's "Solitary Reaper" reads, and was meant to read, as the
cho of a real experience intensely endured. We happen to know that
he idea which lends the poem its special poignancy, the plaintive song
)f the girl as she worked alone — that this idea came out of a book.[45]
Vhat emerged from the interaction between first- and second-hand
xperience was a work of art that transcends and is indeed irrelevant to

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[42]Callim. fr. 67. 9 Pf.

[43]Ov. *Her.* 21. 87-96.

[44]Cf. Richter (above, note 30), p. 19; O. Skutsch, "Symmetry and sense in the
Eclogues," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73 (1968), p. 160.

[45]J. Beer, *Wordsworth and the human heart* (New York 1978), pp. 134-35.

its origins. "The voice of a single girl, singing in a field, has become eloquent of the resources of a common humanity and shared emotion which, while her song lasts, are known to be possessed fundamentally by every member of the human race."[46]

"While her song lasts..."; and the songs of Corydon, of Damon, of Alphesiboeus. They have lasted for two thousand years; and in commemorating them we also commemorate the other poets, Greek and Roman, who stirred Virgil's imagination and set it to work on its unpredictable course. Theocritus still appeals strongly to us in his own right — but Callimachus? In spite of all the admirable work on him that has been done and is still being done by Clausen and others, his influence on Latin poetry from Catullus onwards — its extent and its strength — remains to me an unexpected and slightly mystifying phenomenon. The fact of it cannot be disputed. In this study I have tried to isolate and illustrate Virgil's response to one of the stories in the *Aetia* about which we chance to be relatively well informed, against the background of its reception and adaptation by three of his contemporaries, Gallus, Propertius and Ovid. Three of the four seized on the one element in Callimachus' treatment which had obvious pathetic value, his retreat to the wilderness and his unhappy soliloquy there. The odd man out was Ovid, who (as I have argued elsewhere[47]) addressed himself to the possibilities which Callimachus had *not* exploited and so gave the story a totally new complexion. This he did by jettisoning Callimachus' characterization of Acontius as καλός παῖς, *formosus puer,* and making a man of him; and by creating *ex nihilo* a character for Cydippe, who in the original is a puppet. The motif exploited by the other three poets he did not entirely discard, for the whole of *Heroides* 20, the epistle of Acontius, is in effect a much expanded version, though in a different (unspecified) setting, of Acontius' original expostulation to the trees. The idea of alienation from nature he left severely alone; what Virgil did with it in the second *Eclogue* I have tried, briefly and inadequately, to indicate.

Those who read the *Aeneid* in a correctly punctuated text know that Virgil did not make Aeneas offer (still less offer himself) the words "sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt" as a comment on the human condition.[48] Nevertheless those who persist in quoting the verse out of context, as in spite of the objections of pedants they will,

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[46] *Ibid.,* p. 136.

[47] Kenney (above, note 9), pp. 391, 404-05; "Two Disputed Passages in the Heroides," *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 29 (1979), pp. 425-28.

[48] Cf. "Two Footnotes," *Classical Review* n.s. 14 (1964), p. 13.

re intuitively and essentially justified. Virgil's sensibility to suffering is
omething peculiar to him, and it is why the *Aeneid* is an epic like no
ther that was ever written. As Clausen observes, in the reflected lus-
re of the *Aeneid* the young poet is very hard to see;[49] but the same
ense of overpowering isolation experienced by the reader of Corydon's
omplaint is there unmistakably in the character of Aeneas.[50] Beside the
nature agonies of Dido and Aeneas, set against a background of the
ise and fall of dynasties and empires, the songs of the *Eclogues,* in
neir settings of conventional elegiac and pastoral motifs and written in
  hexameter distinguished by mannerisms which had no place in the
nore austere epic tradition, are apt to tempt the unsympathetic critic to
ismiss them as artificial. So they are, but they are not therefore false:
ne sensibility is the same, something that we call Virgilian because
nere is no other word for it:

> tale tuum carmen nobis, diuine poeta,
> quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum
> dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere riuo. (*Ecl.* 5. 45-47)

fter two thousand years the song lasts; the spring still flows; Delphi
as long been given up to the archaeologist and the tourist; of this ora-
le the speaking water has not been quenched.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

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[49]W. Clausen in E. J. Kenney and W. Clausen, edd., *The Cambridge History of Clas-
ical Literature* II. *Latin literature* (Cambridge 1982), p. 306.

[50]G. Lieberg, "Vergils Aeneis als Dichtung der Einsamkeit," in H. Bardon and R.
erdière, edd., *Vergiliana: recherches sur Virgile* (Leiden 1971), pp. 175-91.

7

The Literary Background of Virgil:
Notes on the Vocabulary of the *Georgics*

ANTONIO TOVAR

Virgil can be considered linguistically as a poet who had to solve stylistic problems by selecting words. Latin poets, who depended mostly on Greek models, were aware of these difficulties, and their works bear witness to a conscious effort in this direction. The *Georgics,* half-way between the still irregular poetry of the neoteric young Virgil and the classic epos of the *Aeneid,* show by their vocabulary the evolution of the poet. Virgil in his poetical career became a master of language. Latin poetry depended after him on the language he had shaped. Like Cicero in prose, he was the classic model in poetry.

How did Virgil give form to his poetic style? He was never so critically minded as Horace about his predecessors in Roman poetry. If Horace, bringing to the Roman Parnassus the Muses of Archilochos, Pindar and the Lesbians, had to break away from the neoteric poets and could not find any guidance in the epic tradition, Virgil, only seventeen years younger than Catullus, and just five older than Horace, but educated in the provinces, derived more directly from the current streams of Roman poetry.

Cicero's classicism was eclectic and so was Virgil's, much more than Horace's. The model for the *Georgics* was, especially in book I, Hesiod, although inevitably the old poet, archaic and rough for the cultivated Romans of those times, was imitated by him in a modern and critical spirit.

It is generally known that the first hemistich of *Georgics* I. 299 is a translation: *nudus ara, sere nudus.* But what in Hesiod was a primitive reminiscence, is explained by Virgil rationalistically and, it seems, unnecessarily: nudity in plowing and sowing meant for him that this

operation must be finished before the arrival of the winter: *nudus ara,
sere nudus; hiems ignava colono.* Thus Virgil modernizes the Hesiodic
prescription (*Erga* 391-93):

> γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνον δὲ βοωτεῖν,
> γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν, εἴ χ' ὥρια πάντ' ἐθέλῃσθα
> ἔργα κομίζεσθαι Δημήτερος....

Posterity could not understand these archaic customs, and in fact
Virgil contradicts his own explanation[1] in the following verses (305-
310), in which he speaks of the farmer's activities during the *ignava
hiems,* the quiet winter. Some contemporary readers did not accept
Virgil's rationalization, and, as the *Vita Donati*[2] says, an envious detrac-
tor of the poet parodied Virgil's line thus: *nudus ara, sere nudus: habebis
frigore febrem.*

Grammarians who commented on Hesiod had difficulties with the
passage in the *Erga.* We find in the scholia[3] two interpretations: one of
them, which Virgil followed, simply prescribes doing the job before the
cold arrives (and perhaps because of that Virgil did not translate the
Hesiodic ἀμάειν "to harvest"); the other, which seems to be older,
and is considered by Wilamowitz[4] to be Proclus', states that the plow-
man should not wear any clothes which could impede his movements.
Even the ἱμάτιον of the scholia would be too much.

In fact, it is well attested that nudity was usual in plowing among
the ancients. Wilamowitz[5] draws attention to a vase of Nicosthenes,
and in M. L. West's commentary[6] examples of Greek vases, collected
by A. S. F. Gow, confirm that plowing and sowing were carried out
both in the nude and with some clothes on. In the Hesiodic *Scutum
Herc.* 287 plowmen wear clothes tucked up.[7] Modern commentators
have compromised by sometimes translating the Virgilian *nudus* as

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[1] As E. Paratore comments on I. 305 ff., *Le Georgiche* (7th ed., Milan 1964).

[2] Ed. I. Brummer, p. 10.

[3] *Scholia Vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies,* rec. Augustinus Pertusi, Pubbl.
dell'Università Cattol. S. Cuore, Vol. LIII (Milan, n.d.), p. 136: πρὸ ψύχους, φησίν, ἐν ᾧ
δυνήσῃ γυμνὸς εἶναι καὶ βουσὶν ἐπακολουθεῖν. ἀντὶ τοῦ· ὡσὰν πρόθυμος ἔσῃ περὶ
τὸ ἔργον, μὴ φορῶν τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, ἵνα μὴ ἐμποδίζῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Servius agrees with
the first explanation: *adeo sereno caelo ut amictum possis contemnere* (in *Georg.* I. 299).

[4] *Hesiodos Erga,* erklärt von U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin 1928), p. 88.

[5] *Ibidem.*

[6] Hesiod, *Works and Days,* ed. with Prolegomena and Commentary by M. L. West
(Oxford 1978), p. 257.

[7] Hesiod, *Scutum Herc.,* a cura di C. F. Russo (Florence 1950), *in loc.*

"ohne Oberkleid," "just with a tunic,"[8] forgetting that Pliny (*Nat. hist.* XVIII. 20) speaks of the nudity of Cincinnatus who was called to his military duties from the plow (cf. also Livy III. 26. 9).

Since Virgil was imitating Hesiod's *Erga,* he was obliged, in spite of being nearly a neoteric, to accept, under the influence of Lucretius, the whole epic tradition of Roman literature. Let us consider now a few epic elements in Virgil's vocabulary.

The adverb *ceu* never appears in the *Bucolics,* or in the *Appendix.* But for epic comparisons *ceu* was the right word to translate ὡς or ὥστε. Thus *ceu* is not found in the old comic poets, or in prose previous to Seneca, but it occurs[9] in Ennius and Lucretius, and in Catullus' epic poem 64 (v. 239); in using it Virgil gives the necessary epic flavor to his style in the *Georgics:*

> ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae... (I. 303)
> ceu naufraga corpora fluctus... (III. 542)
> ceu pulvere ab alto... (IV. 96).

It is interesting to observe that among the scanty fragments of Varius, the intimate friend of Virgil, one has been preserved (Morel, *Frag. poet. latin.,* p. 100, no. 4) where *ceu* introduces the comparison of a bitch pursuing a hind. The Epicurean subject of this poem *De morte* imposed a Lucretian vocabulary on Varius.

Virgil's wish to stress his epic vocation by evoking Ennius is found in the use of expressions like *nox intempesta.* This had been coined by Ennius (*Ann.* 102 and 167 Vahlen). But Virgil underlines the archaic style by closing the hexameter with a monosyllabic word:[10] *aut intempesta silet nox* (I. 247). Virgil's allusion to well known verses of Ennius is often transparent. Thus in his variations on the epitaph of the old poet of Rudiae: *Volito vivos per ora virum* (*Epigr.* 18 Vahlen): Virgil desires poetic glory, and finally *virum volitare per ora* (*Georg.* III. 9). The same motif (already imitated by Lucr. IV. 38, *umbras inter vivos volitare*) appears also in *Georg.* IV. 226: *viva volare.*

The epic style carried a traditional weight. Yet Virgil, who had started his poetry under the influence of the *cantores Euphorionis,* never renounced neoteric methods. Let us examine for instance *Georg.* III. 338: *litoraque alcyonen resonant, acalanthida dumi.* Of the two birds

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[8] *Vergils Gedichte,* erklärt von Th. Ladewig, C. Schaper und P. Deuticke, 1, *Buk.* und *Georg.,* 9. Aufl. bearbeitet von Paul Jahn (Berlin 1915), *in loc.*

[9] *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI,* erklärt von E. Norden (3rd ed., Berlin-Leipzig 1926), p. 439.

[10] As in the ending of the light-hearted hexameter *Georg.* I. 181: *exiguus mus;* cf.

named in this line, the halcyon had already been taken up into Latin poetry,[11] but the other name, *acalanthis,* was apparently odd even in Greek, and belongs to erudite elements in the Alexandrine tradition. The word seems to be a variant form of the better known $\overset{?}{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ 'goldfinch, *Fringilla carduelis*' or 'linnet, *Fr. linaria*', which is attested in Aristophanes, Antoninus Liberalis and several lexica.[12]

Greek words play a role in poetry, following the long Greek tradition initiated by Homer and Hesiod with their euphonic catalogues of Nymphs and Nereids. The artistic verse of *Georg.* I. 437, with its hiatus and elision, *Glauco | et Panopeae et | Inoo Melicertae,* is, as Aulus Gellius XIII. 26. 3 says, an imitation of the modern poet Parthenius, but the Virgilian line is, according to the same scholar, "$\nu\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\varsigma$ et quodam quasi ferumine inmisso fucatior."

Greek words were necessary for every learned subject, but sometimes they are used simply for the sake of euphony. So with the quasi hapax *hyalus:*

> eam circum Milesia vellera Nymphae
> carpebant hyali saturo fucata colore (IV. 334-35).

Locks of wool "that had been dyed a deep glassy green,"[13] i.e. *hyalino, vitreo, viridi, nymphis apto* (Servius *in loc.*), displayed a preciosity new in Latin poetry, one that was still imitated in later times by Ausonius and Prudentius (*Thes. ling. Lat.* VI. 3130).

The meanings of such euphonic words are sometimes difficult to determine. This is probably the case too with the passage in which the poet speaks of the most convenient herbs to plant around the beehives:

> Haec circum casiae virides et olentia late
> serpylla et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae
> floreat, iriguumque bibant violaria fontem (*Georg.* IV. 30-32).

The Greek $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\rho\alpha$ is usually considered to be 'savory' (*Satureia thymbra* for the botanists, *LSJ*). But Columella, trying to be more precise, and in a chapter which begins with a reference to this Virgilian text, enumerates (IX. 4. 6; cf. also section 2 of the same chapter) as the

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Norden, *op. cit.* in the previous note, p. 440.

  [11]Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil, A critical survey* (Cambridge 1969), p. 237, for its identification.

  [12]See F. R. Adrados and collaborators, *Diccionario griego-español,* I (Madrid 1980), p. 107, where we find for $\overset{?}{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ the translation "jilguero, *Fringilla carduelis.*" Servius *in loc.* vacillates between *luscinia* and *carduelis,* but the commentary attributed to Probus (Thilo-Hagen III, p. 383) prefers rightly *carduelis.*

  [13]Translation by Gary B. Miles, *Virgil's Georgics, A new interpretation,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980), p. 262.

most convenient herbs, in first place thyme, then, as the next best, *thymbra, serpyllum* and *origanum*. In the translation of E. Heffner (Loeb) these correspond to "Greek savory, wild thyme and marjoram." Then Columella adds as *tertiae notae, sed adhuc generosae, marinus ros et nostras cunila, quam dixi* (same chapter, section 2) *satureiam*.[14] In the last place come all the other herbs. In Columella's very extensive explanation, *thymbra* occupies a higher place than the Latin *satureia* 'savory', and evidently the learned agriculturalist used the word to describe another plant, which is confirmed by a passage in his poetic book on gardens (X. 233): *et satureia thymi referens thymbraeque saporem*. It seems probable therefore that Virgil referred to some plant, perhaps encountered in a Greek author, which he did not trouble to identify. The new *Oxford Latin Dictionary*[15] has rightly reopened interpretation by proposing for *thymbra* "an aromatic plant, perh. Cretan thyme, *Corydothymus capitatus*."

But the beautiful Virgilian lines, sprinkled with euphonic Greek words, were in their details not intended to be a manual for real farmers.[16]

Madrid-Tübingen

[14]The *Servius auctus* (*in loc.*) identifies *thymbra* and *satureia: thymbre est, quam cunilam vocamus*.

[15]Last fascicle, ed. P. G. W. Glare, 1982, p. 1939.

[16]Cf. Brooks Otis, *Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1964), p. 145.

8

Invidia infelix: Vergil, *Georgics* 3. 37-39

M. W. DICKIE

> Invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum
> Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis
> Immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.

Much ink has been spent on the prologue to *Georgics* 3. The prospects for making any considerable new contribution to the understanding of that prologue are in consequence not good. A little new light can nonetheless perhaps be shed on the vexed question of the relationship of verses 37-39, the description of *invidia* in the *sedes scelerata* of the Underworld, to what goes before. Do these lines belong to the program of embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple or not?[1] In the immediately preceding passage (vv. 26-36) Vergil has described the chryselephantine reliefs that are to adorn the doors of the temple which he proposes to erect in Octavian's honor on the banks of the Mincius at Mantua, and the statues in Parian marble that are to stand in that edifice. In these lines Vergil makes it very clear that he is describing works of art that he will have made or set up: (1) *in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto / Gangaridum faciam* (vv. 26-27); (2) *addam urbes Asiae domitas* (v. 30); (3) *stabunt et Parii lapides,*

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[1] Part of the temple's decoration: E. Norden, "Vergilstudien," *Hermes* 28 (1893), pp. 520 ff.; T. E. Page, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis, Bucolica et Georgica* (London 1898), p. 295; apparently W. Richter, ed., *Vergil, Georgica* (Munich 1957), pp. 268 ff.; F. Klingner, *Virgil* (Zurich 1967), p. 282; V. Buchheit, *Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgika* (Darmstadt 1972), p. 146. Not part of the temple's decoration but a bridge back to the literary discussion, in which Vergil proclaims or threatens the defeat of his literary rivals: K. Büchner, "P. Vergilius Maro," *RE* (1955), pp. 270 ff.; W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom* (Wiesbaden 1960), pp. 183 ff.; U. Fleischer, "Musentempel und Oktavianehrung des Vergil im Proömium zum dritten Buch der *Georgica*," *Hermes* 88 (1960), pp. 311-19. Probably not part of the temple decoration: L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969), pp. 170 ff.

spirantia signa (v. 34).[2] But in the case of the *Invidia*-vignette Vergil does not speak of having the scene made nor is there any mention of the material from which it is to be made nor of the form which it is to take. The principal reasons for thinking that in verses 37-39 Vergil is still describing the embellishments of the Octavian-temple are:

(1) these verses seem to belong to a discrete section of the prologue in which works of art are described and which ends at verse 40 with the poet's announcing that he will now resume the theme that he had promised in verses 1 ff. (*interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur*);

(2) the verb *metuet* is, like the preceding verbs *faciam, addam* and *stabunt,* in the future, a circumstance which leads the reader to think that it is still the decoration of the temple that is at issue. The main obstacle to taking the lines in this way is that it is hard to envisage where the scene is to be placed, what it could possibly look like and in what medium it is to be rendered.[3]

I shall attempt in this study to show that Vergil might well have envisaged such a scene rendered in relief or as free-standing statuary. It is not my wish, however, to suggest that he is describing a scene whose details he had clearly before his mind in their every particular, and whose physical relationship to the other embellishments of the temple he had worked out, but rather that he could in a general sort of way have conceived of such a scene. The elements of which the vignette is made up he could have seen in paintings, worked in relief or rendered in free-standing sculpture, and some he could have seen in combination with each other. I would argue that Vergil has in fact constructed the scene out of elements that he had himself seen; that is, his inspiration is more visual than literary, though the latter element will also have played a part. If the *Invidia*-vignette is part of the description of the temple, a second and distinct question arises, which will be dealt with in the second part of this study; namely, what the scene's meaning is within the program of artistic embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple.

The elements in the *invidia*-scene are the following: *Invidia* personified, portrayed in a state of fear and unhappiness; she is unhappy (*infelix*) as *invidi* and *phthoneroi* necessarily are by the nature of their condition, since the prosperity of others causes them anguish, and

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[2]Compare the use of *facere* and *addere* at *Aen.* VIII. 626-728 in the description of the shield made by Vulcan for Aeneas: *fecerat* (vv. 628, 630); *addiderat* (v. 637); *hinc procul addit* (v. 666).

[3]So Wilkinson (above, note 1), p. 170.

since the sight of prosperity is everywhere visible;[4] her fear is prompted by the sight of the Furies, the stern Cocytus, Ixion on his wheel with snakes wrapped about him and the rock that cannot be mastered (i.e. that of Sisyphus). We have then to imagine a scene in which a female figure cringes before the Furies; and in which the River Cocytus, Ixion bound to his wheel and wreathed in snakes, and Sisyphus pushing his rock are also represented. These are the elements for which antecedents in the visual arts are to be sought.

The evidence to be considered will be organized under the following categories: (1) literary evidence for representations of *Invidia/Phthonos*; (2) representations of *Invidia/Phthonos*; (3) literary descriptions of representations of the Underworld; (4) representations of the Impious in the Underworld; (5) the other evidence falling under none of the preceding categories.

(1) Literary Evidence for Representations of Invidia/Phthonos

The earliest piece of evicence which falls under this heading is [Demosthenes] 25. 52, where Aristogeiton, against whom the speech is directed, is said to exist in a world that is devoid of normal human relationships and to go around in the company of what painters portray alongside the impious (*asebeis*) in Hades; namely, Curse, Blasphemy, *Phthonos,* Discord and Strife. That is, there were paintings in which *Phthonos* amongst other evils was depicted in the Underworld in the company of the *asebeis*. By *asebeis* in contexts such as this one are meant in general all those who have committed certain sorts of grave crimes in their lifetime, but especially certain exemplary sinners such as Tantalus, Tityus, Sisyphus and, at least from Hellenistic times, Ixion. In the Underworld the *asebeis* were said to occupy the χῶρος ἀσεβῶν

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[4]The defining characteristic of *phthonos* or *invidia* was the distress that the good fortune of others causes the *phthoneros* or *invidus*: compare Pl. *Phil.* 50a, *Def.* 416; Arist. *Rhet.* 1386b18-20; Cic. *Tusc.* IV. 8. 17, *invidentiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti. Invidia infelix* will then mean *Invidia* in her characteristic state of unhappiness. In Stat. *Silv.* II. 6 *Invidia infelix* (v. 69) becomes *tristis Rhamnousia* who surveys a youth in his beauty with *vultus torvus* (v. 73) and who tortures herself at the sight (*seseque videndo / torsit et invidia* vv. 76-77). The emaciation that *Livor* in his unhappiness causes himself is an *infelix macies* at *Anth. Lat.* 636. 11; at Sen. *Oct.* 485 *invidia* is *tristis,* and Ovid portrays his *Invidia* groaning, sighing and scowling (*Ingemuit vultumque una ac suspiria duxit, Metam.* II. 774). The rendering "accursed" preferred by most of those cited in note 1 above misses the point. Fleischer (p. 311) treats *infelix* as a content-free *epitheton ornans* and somewhat puzzlingly says that *felix* in the *Georgics* often has its original force of *fecundus.*

or in Latin the *sedes scelerata* or some variant on that.[5] One or more of these paradeigmatic *asebeis* were presumably represented in paintings of the type described by pseudo-Demosthenes as a means of identifying the exact locale of the scene.

As for the way in which *Phthonos* was depicted in such paintings, Plutarch in his discussion of the Evil Eye in the *Quaestiones Conviviales* says that painters make brave efforts to capture the evil that permeates even the bodies of those filled with *phthonos* when they sketch the countenance of *Phthonos* (*Mor.* 681e); that is, they attempt to convey the malice of *phthonos* through the facial expression of the *phthoneros* portrayed. Lucian, on the other hand, tells how *Phthonos* was represented in a particular painting, Apelles' famous *Calumny*. In it Calumny herself was portrayed led by a pale and ugly male figure, with a sharp look to his eyes and the appearance of one who has become emaciated as the result of a long disease; this Lucian suggests was *Phthonos* (*Cal.* 5).

(2) Representations of Phthonos/Invidia

Preeminent in this category, both because of its intrinsic interest and because it is the key to the identification of a number of figurines with similar features as representations of *Phthonos,* is the mosaic from Skala in Kephallenia, first published in 1962.[6] Its subject matter is a naked youth with arms crossed over on his chest and his hands clasping his throat. He is being attacked by four large felines, two at his shoulders and two on his abdomen, which is disfigured by a terrible, vertical wound. Below the figure, an inscription which is an amalgam of dedication and warning announces that the figure represented is a likeness of *Phthonos,* drawn by the painter and rendered in stone by Krateros.[7] The hands clasping the throat represent either the *phthoneros* in his unhappiness trying to do away with himself by strangulation, or his choking with pent-up emotion over the good fortune of others, or a combination of both of these notions. The gesture portrayed is exactly that

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[5][Pl.] *Axioch.* 371e-372a is the *locus classicus* on the χῶρος ἀσεβῶν. It describes a place that contains the unfilled water jars of the Danaids, the thirst of Tantalus, the entrails of Tityus ever being eaten and ever growing again, and the πέτρος ἀνήνυτος (*non exsuperabile saxum, Georg.* 3. 39) of Sisyphus. Compare Luc. *Ver. Hist.* 2. 23, 26; and for the *sedes scelerata,* Tib. 1. 3. 67, Ov. *Metam.* IV. 456; for the *sedes atque regio sceleratorum,* Cic. *Cluent.* 171; and for the *sceleratum limen,* Verg. *Aen.* VI. 563.

[6]The primary publication is by B. Kallipolitis, *Deltion* 17A (1961-62), pp. 1-31.

[7]ὦ Φθόνε, καὶ σοῦ τήνδε ὀλοῆς φρενὸς εἰκόνα γράψε
ζωγράφος· ἣν Κράτερος θήκατο λαϊνέην. (1-2)

attributed by Silius Italicus to the personification of *livor* seen by Scipio Africanus in the entrance-chamber to the Underworld (*hinc angens utraque manu sua guttura Livor*, XIII. 584), although it remains uncertain whether it represents, as it seems to in Silius, *Phthonos'* trying to kill himself in his misery or simply his choking involuntarily over the good fortune of others.[8] The wound in his abdomen signifies the hurt that the *phthoneros* does himself when he looks with *phthonos* on the prosperity of others.[9]

The motif of choking and that of the self-inflicted wound are found either separately or in combination on a number of other representations of *Phthonos* rendered in a variety of media. I shall describe only a few of them.[10] A Greco-Egyptian terra-cotta figurine published by P. Graindor has a man choking himself. He has a preternaturally long phallus that hangs down between his legs and comes to rest on an eye that lies at his feet.[11] The presence of the eye attacked by a phallus, a motif well-known from apotropaea against the Evil Eye, makes it all the more likely that what we have in this figurine is *Phthonos* choking. Both choking and wounding are present on a Janus-like terra-cotta figurine now in Leiden.[12] One side is a male figure choking himself and the other a female with a wound in the abdomen, which she pulls open with her hands. Choking and the emaciation characteristic of *phthoneroi*[13] are to be seen in a small bronze figurine, probably of Alexandrian origin, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.[14] The mouth of the figurine is portrayed with lips drawn back over teeth in a *rictus* of impotent rage. Also worthy of note, since it helps identify the piece as an apotropaeon against the Evil Eye of the *phthoneros,* is the disproportionately large phallus, pierced

[8]For choking with *phthonos/invidia,* compare *Gal. Comment. in Hippocr. de nat. hom. praef.* 13; Lib. *Decl.* 30. 18, *Or.* 1. 211; Eunap. *V.S.* VI. 2. 12; Ov. *Metam.* II. 827 ff.

[9]For the wound of *phthonos/invidia,* compare Pi. *P.* 2. 89-91; Bas. *De Invid.* 1 = *PG* 31. 373; Ioh. Chrys. *Expos. in Ps.* 4. 12 = *PG* 55. 58; *ILAlg* 1971 = *Anth. Lat.* 1929, *in-bide, quid laceras illos quos crescere sentis? / tu tibi tortor, tu tecum tua bulnera portas.*

[10]A more complete account of figurines of this sort will appear in an article written by K. M. D. Dunbabin and the author.

[11]P. Graindor, *Terres cuites de l'Egypte gréco-romaine* (Antwerp 1939), p. 131, no. 49, pl. XVIII.

[12]P. Leyenaar-Plaisier, *Les Terres cuites grecques et romaines. Catalogue de la Collection du Musée National des Antiquités à Leiden* (Leiden 1979), pp. 151 ff., no. 335, pl. 55.

[13]For wasting with *phthonos/invidia,* compare Menan. *fr.* 538. 6-7 Körte[3]; Theocr. 5. 12 ff., 6. 26 ff.; *AP* 11. 192, 193, *API* 16. 265, 266; Liber. *Decl.* 30. 40, *Or.* 25. 20; Ov. *Metam.* II. 780, 807; Stat. *Theb.* II. 14-16; Cypr. *De Zel. et Liv.* 7 = *PL* 4. 643.

[14]T. Schreiber, "Alexandrinische Sculpturen in Athen," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 10 (1885), p. 382, pl. X.

half-way down by a hole, through which a chain or wire will have run from which to hang a bell. Bells and more generally the sound of bronze were believed to ward off evil.[15]

(3) Literary Descriptions of Representations of the Underworld

Pausanias describes in some detail a painting of Odysseus' descent to Hades executed by Polygnotus for the *Lesche* of the Cnidians at Delphi (X. 28-32). That painting contained two features that are relevant here. It had a river with reeds growing in it, in which shadowy fish could be seen. On the river was a boat with a ferryman at its oars (X. 28. 1). This was the River Acheron and Charon. A more or less discrete section was devoted to the punishments undergone by famous sinners (X. 31. 11-12). There was Sisyphus trying to push a boulder up a steep bank, those who had disdained the Eleusinian Mysteries trying to fill pitchers and Tantalus suffering the ills that Homer had described him suffering (*Od.* XI. 582-92), and in addition having a rock poised over his head.

(4) Representations of the Impious in the Underworld

In vase paintings of the Underworld the sinner most frequently represented both in Attic black-figure and South Italian is Sisyphus.[16] Tantalus is found twice on South Italian vases[17] and Ixion not at all, although he is depicted tied to his wheel on the neck of a volute krater from Ruvo, which has on its body an Underworld scene with women carrying pitchers.[18] Ixion is first found in the company of the other sinners in the Underworld on a number of sarcophagi and monumental tombs from the High Roman Empire.[19]

(5) Miscellanea

(a) Ixion, who is normally represented simply bound to his wheel by

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[15]For bells driving off the Evil Eye, compare Ioh. Chrys. *In Ep. 1 ad Cor. Hom.* 49. 7 = *PG* 61. 105 ff., and for bronze driving off the spirits of the dead, Ov. *Fast.* 5. 441 ff.

[16]On Sisyphus in black-figure, see W. Felten, *Attische Unterweltsdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jh. v. Chr.* (Munich 1975), pp. 23-25, pls. 10, 12. In south Italian vase painting he is portrayed rolling his stone on three volute kraters, attended by one, two or three Erinyes: see M. Pansi, *Rappresentazioni dell' Oltretomba nella Ceramica Apula* (Rome 1977), pls. I, III and V; K. Schauenberg, "Die Totengötter in der unteritalischen Vasen-malerei," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 73 (1958), p. 50, note 16.

[17]See B. Andreae, *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst* (Heidelberg 1963), p. 59.

[18]Leningrad St. 424; Pansi (above, note 16), pl. VIII.

[19]See D. P. Dimitrov, "Römisches Relief im Museum zu Stara-Zagora (Bulgarien)

fetters, is in a Campanian amphora of the fourth-century B.C. from
Cumae depicted bound to a wheel by snakes, which are entwined about
his body and of which two bite or strike at his shoulders.[20] Directly
below the wheel there is an Erinys holding a torch. On either side of
the Erinys stand Hermes and Hephaestus, who look up at the wheel,
which is being set in motion by two winged women, who must
represent *Nephelai* or *Aurai*. There is no room for doubt that Ixion's
punishment is taking place in the upper air. (b) On a metope from the
archaic temple at Foce del Sele near Paestum there is a figure entwined
by a snake that strikes at his head. This may well be Ixion. On adja-
cent metopes are portrayed the punishments or sins of Tityus, Sisyphus
and Tantalus.[21] (c) Amongst the scenes that on the Shield of Aeneas
depict Rome's rise to world empire is a panel portraying the
Underworld. Part of it is devoted to the *sedes scelerata* and part to the
sedes piorum. In the *sedes scelerata* there is Catiline hanging from a
beetling cliff and trembling before the Furies, while amongst the *pii*
Cato is to be seen giving judgment:

> hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem. (*Aen.* VIII. 666-70)

The discussion may best begin with the Underworld-scene on the
Shield of Aeneas, since it is part of the decoration that embellishes an
imaginary object and since in its details it has a good deal in common
with the *Invidia*-vignette in the *Georgics*. What both scenes have in
common is a figure who is the main focus of attention portrayed trem-
bling before the Furies, while alongside that figure some of the famous
sinners are to be seen undergoing their punishments. The similarity of
the scenes tells in favor of the *Invidia*-vignette's being part of the pro-
gram of embellishment of the Octavian-temple, but it does not show
that the scene has any real antecedents amongst the visual arts. The
works of art catalogued above, on the other hand, suggest that Vergil
has been influenced by what he has seen. It is likely that an educated
Roman of Vergil's time would have seen all of the elements that make
up the scene. The element that most persuasively argues for inspira-
tion from the visual arts is the use of the image of Ixion on his wheel

mit der Darstellung des Ixion und Tantalos,'' *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1937), pp. 69-75.

[20]E. Simon, "Ixion und die Schlange," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts* 43 (1955), p. 17, pl. 7.

[21]For this reconstruction, see E. Simon, "Die vier Büsser von Foce del Sele," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 82 (1967), pp. 275-95.

entwined by snakes, an image which we otherwise only know from the volute krater from Cumae. In the literary tradition snakes play no part in the punishment that he had seen represented in some work of art.

There is one other significant similarity between the *Invidia*-scene and a work of art. In paintings of the sort described at [Demosthenes] 25. 52 *Phthonos* is portrayed in the Underworld in the company of the *asebeis* just as in the *Georgics Invidia infelix* is found alongside the *impii* in the Underworld. There are, however, major differences. *Phthonos* is not alone in the pseudo-Demosthenic scene but is one of a number of personified ills. Nor are these personifications said to be cringing before the Furies. They seem to inhabit this part of the Underworld because it is a suitable home for them, just as at *Aeneid* VI 273-89 and at XIII. 579-87 of Silius Italicus' *Punica* some of the ills that beset mankind, *Livor* being of their number in the *Punica*, have their quarters in the entrance-hall to the Underworld for no other reason than that they are ills. Nonetheless paintings of the sort described by pseudo-Demosthenes could have contributed to Vergil's inspiration here.

There is a case then for thinking that some of the details of the scene that Vergil describes owe something to the visual arts. What is a good deal more certain is that the vocabulary rendering that scene visually lay at hand and that the elements were in the main familiar ones. The punishment of the famous sinners was a well-known theme, even though the transfer of Ixion's punishment from the upper air to the *sedes scelerata* may not yet have been visually familiar and may reflect recondite Alexandrian learning.[22] *Invidia,* as we have seen, could have been rendered in a number of ways, all of which would have made her identity clear by presenting the traditional outward signs of her unhappiness. That is, she would have been portrayed as an emaciated female figure with an unhappy mien or as a woman choking herself or inflicting some terrible wound on herself.

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[22]Vergil will as a *doctus poeta* have been fully aware that in placing Ixion in the Underworld he was following a variant tradition, which may have had its origins in a learned Hellenistic discussion of some problematic passage in an earlier author. At Ap. Rh. *Arg.* III. 61-63 Hera declares that even if Jason were to rescue Ixion from his bronze bonds in Hades, she would still save him. In having Hera, who, if anyone, should be concerned about the nature of Ixion's punishment and his whereabouts, speak of Ixion in Hades, Apollonius gives emphasis to his preference for this form of the story. The *zetema* may have been a passage such as Pi. *O.* I. 59-60 (ἔχει δ᾽ ἀπάλαμον βίον τοῦτον ἐμπεδόμοχθον / μετὰ τριῶν τέταρτον πόνον) where the punishment of Tantalus is referred to allusively and enigmatically as "the fourth toil besides the three." Σ A(C)DEHQ *in* Pi. *O.* 1. 97a Dr. gives a number of solutions to this problem, of which the first is that Tantalus was the fourth to be punished in Hades with Sisyphus, Tityus and Ixion.

The run of the passage gives the impression at a first reading that what Vergil has in mind in describing the scene is free-standing statuary. He has just described a group of statues that comprises the ancestors of the *gens Iulia* and Apollo, and the reader naturally assumes that the next vignette is to be rendered in the same way, and further that some contrast is intended between the groups. However bizarre such an arrangement may sound, it should be borne in mind that the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, whose construction will have been in progress or perhaps even completed when these lines were written, and which is in some measure the inspiration for Vergil's Octavian-temple, had between the columns of its portico statues representing the daughters of Danaus and their father, who was depicted with a drawn sword (Prop. II. 31. 3-4; Ov. *Trist.* III. 1. 61-62).[23] The possibility of embellishing a temple with a large and complex group of statues is a very real one. The significance of the Danaids within the program of decoration for the Temple of Apollo is unclear, but it is unlikely, in view of the way in which they are conceived in Augustan poetry as sinners condemned to carry out a never-ending task in the Underworld, that they represent something positive.[24]

The meaning of the *Invidia*-scene has basically been explained in two ways. It has been taken either to refer to the defeat of Octavian's political enemies and in particular Antony,[25] or to the defeat, actual or wished for, of Vergil's literary rivals,[26] or to both these groups.[27] In light of the apparent context of the scene, an account of the embellishments of a temple in honor of Octavian, literary *invidia* is not very plausible. If it is Octavian's defeat of Antony that is being celebrated, then it has been done in a very allusive fashion, which may in the circumstances be appropriate. In what follows I shall suggest an interpretation that gives a more general application to *invidia*'s defeat and one

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[23]On the influence of the Apollo-temple on the Octavian-temple, see D. L. Drews, "Virgil's Marble Temple: *Georgics* III: 10-39," *Classical Quarterly* 18 (1924), pp. 194-202.

[24]For the Danaids in the Underworld, compare [Pl.] *Axioch.* 372e; Luc. *Tim.* 18, *Herm.* 61, *Dial. Mort.* 11. 4; Tib. I. 3. 79; Hor. *Carm.* III. 11. 23-28. I remain unpersuaded by Eva Keuls, *The Water-Carriers in Hades* (Amsterdam 1974), that it was only with the appearance of the Danaids on the portico of the Apollo-temple that the water-carriers in underworld-scenes were identified with the Danaids.

[25]Of those cited in note 1, so Norden, p. 521; Page, p. 295; Richter, p. 268; Klingner, p. 282 n. 3; Buchheit, p. 146.

[26]So Büchner, pp. 270 ff.; Wimmel, pp. 183 ff.; and Fleischer, pp. 311-19 (all as in note 1 above). Büchner's objection that *invidia* is too weak a term for the enmity of the civil war is misconceived, since *invidia* is exactly the term that would be used to characterize political opposition both as illegitimate and dishonorably motivated.

[27]Wilkinson, pp. 170 ff.

that has parallels in encomia of other emperors and that may go back to
what was said in panegyrics composed to celebrate Alexander's achieve-
ments.

It has been assumed rather than argued that the scene represents
Invidia's defeat. The presence of *Invidia* in the Underworld does not of
itself signify defeat, not even if she is represented amongst the *impii* in
the *sedes scelerata*. All that the presence of *Invidia* in the Underworld
per se need mean is that the Underworld is a suitable home for such a
force for evil. What makes it overwhelmingly likely that *Invidia*'s
defeat is intended is that she is portrayed in Hades cringing before the
Furies as a sinner facing never-ending punishment. She is destined to
be kept there irrevocably. That is what the *amnis severus Cocyti*
represents.

It is nonetheless a most unusual and puzzling way of representing
the defeat of *Invidia* and one for which parallels are not easily come by.
The defeat of *invidia* or *phthonos* is a not uncommon topic, but it is not
with one exception described in terms of relegation to the Underworld,
but rather as a defeat or yielding,[28] and, if the idea is represented
figuratively, as *Phthonos/Invidia* lying on the ground, broken, gasping or
paralyzed. Thus Paul the Silentiary in his *Ecphrasis Hagiae Sophiae*
described *Phthonos* crashing broken to the ground and making a deep
impression in the dust as he lies there (161-63).[29] What is meant by the
defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* is that the achievements of the object of
Phthonos/Invidia's ill-will are so great that *Phthonos/Invidia* is defeated by
their magnitude and lapses into acquiescence or helplessness. As such,
the defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* belongs to the larger topic of what is too
great or too brilliant for *phthonos/invidia* to overcome.[30] It is a topic
found mainly in encomia, although it is also used for apotropaic pur-
poses.

There is only one other instance known to me of the relegation of
Phthonos/Invidia to the Underworld besides that in the *Georgics*. In
Philo Iudaeus' *Legatio ad Gaium* Gaius' adviser Macro gives Gaius a
lecture on the duties of an emperor. He advises Gaius to see to it that
all the good land is farmed and that different nations freely and eagerly
exchange their goods by sea, a situation which Macro says has in fact

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[28]Phil. Iud. *de agricult.* 112; Sall. *Iug.* 10. 2; Iustin. I. 2. 5; Sen. *Oct.* 485-86.

[29]Compare Eunap. *V.S.* X. 5. 5; A. Beschaouch, "Echec à l'envieux d'après une in-
scription métrique sur mosaïque découverte dans les thermes à Sullectum en Tunisie,"
Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincei 23 (1968), p. 61 *nisibus hic nostris prostratus libor
anhelat.*

[30]Compare Dem. 3. 24; *AP* IX. 814; Plut. *Mor.* 538a-b; Dio Cass. LVI. 35. 5-6; Ov.

prevailed since the Augusti began to rule because under them *phthonos* has been especially curbed. They have, he says, driven all that was harmful and which formerly flourished beyond the furthest boundaries of the earth and into the hidden nooks of Tartarus, and have brought back into the center of things all that is good (148 ff.). The Julio-Claudians are then credited with having created free and easy commercial intercourse amongst the nations by curbing and driving out *phthonos;* that is, the grudging feelings that might have inhibited commerce have been extinguished. It is not at all likely that Vergil had in mind the extinguishing of *phthonos* amongst the nations of the empire, but the Philo passage is evidence that the routing of *Phthonos/Invidia* is a topic used in praising the emperor. In spite of Philo, the image of *Invidia* in the Underworld is an unusual one. It may be that the exigencies of portraying *Invidia*'s defeat visually have led Vergil to adopt the image and to forsake the conventional imagery for that notion.

In encomia of emperors the defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* is a well attested topic. It generally takes the form of an assertion that the emperor has by the magnitude of his deeds transcended *phthonos/invidia* in his own lifetime; that is, his achievements are so great that, unlike other men who have to wait for death to free them from *phthonos/invidia*, he while still alive is unaffected by *phthonos/invidia*'s assaults. Horace makes use of the topic in the *Letter to Augustus:* Romulus, Dionysus, Castor and Pollux, and Hercules had met with *invidia* in their lifetime, but Augustus is freely honored while still alive and accorded his due in recognition (*Ep.* II. 1. 5-19). Tiberius is reported by Dio Cassius to have said in his funeral oration over Augustus that he was not afraid of arousing *phthonos* by speaking of the greatness of Augustus' *arete* since he knew that his audience felt no *phthonos* at that *arete*, but rather rejoiced in it, because they were convinced that they had benefited from it (LVI. 35. 5-6). Tacitus has Seneca tell Nero that in his greatness he is beyond the reach of *invidia*, whereas he (Seneca), because he is in no such position, must tread more carefully (*Ann.* XIV. 54). Seneca is also portrayed in the *Octavia* as telling Nero that *invidia* has retired defeated before him and that all are joined in willing assent to his rule ([Sen.] *Oct.* 485-86). The topic is still in use in early Byzantium. Paul the Silentiary in the *Ecphrasis Hagiae Sophiae* declares that not only has Justinian conquered the barbarian and brought him under Rome's rule, but that black *Phthonos* has bowed and fallen to the ground before him (157-63). Although not strictly praise of an emperor, Claudian's encomium of Stilicho is also relevant here: Stilicho has transcended what is human and so stands

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Metam. X. 515; Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 54; Claud. *de cons. Stil.* III. 36-50.

like the gods beyond the limits that *invidia* can reach (*de cons. Stil.* 3. 36-44).

To return to the *Georgics*, there are a number of advantages in construing the *Invidia*-scene as an instance of the topic of *phthonos/invidia* transcended and taking it to be a statement about the magnitude of Octavian's achievements: (1) it fits the theme of the glorification of Octavian, which is the subject-matter of the temple's embellishments, rather better than confining the defeat of *Invidia* to the defeat of Octavian's political enemies; (2) it is a conventional topic of praise; (3) it is a topic that is associated with praise of Alexander as world-conqueror, which is how Octavian is to be presented in the reliefs of the temple-doors and in the decoration of the theater's curtains.

Eduard Norden demonstrated many years ago that the encomium of Augustus as world-conqueror at *Aeneid* VI. 792-807 has as its model the panegyrics in which Alexander's achievements as world-conqueror were celebrated.[31] In conquering from north to south and from east to west his accomplishments surpassed in their extent the travels of Dionysus and Hercules. It was in exactly these terms that Alexander was praised.[32] Vinzenz Buchheit has argued that the subjects which decorate the curtains of the theater and the temple-doors make up a catalogue of conquests typical of the Alexander-panegyric, and that Vergil is therefore portraying Octavian as the new Alexander.[33] Octavian's conquests extend from the Britanni, who appear on the theater-curtains (v. 25), to the billowing Nile (vv. 28 ff.), and from the Indians (v. 27) to the inhabitants of the shores of the Atlantic (vv. 32 ff.); that is, from north to south and from east to west. There is no room for doubt that Octavian is presented here as world-conqueror, while the references to the Nile and to the Indians suggest that Octavian's deeds are being set against those of Alexander and would have been so understood.[34]

There is evidence that not only were Alexander's conquests celebrated as being greater than those of Hercules and Dionysus but that they were said to be so great as to enable Alexander to attain divine status in his lifetime, an achievement that had eluded Hercules and

[31]"Ein Panegyricus auf Augustus in Vergils Aeneis," *Rheinisches Museum* 54 (1899), pp. 466-82.

[32]Compare Arr. *Anab.* IV. 8. 2-3; Menan. Rhet. 388. 6-9; Curt. VIII. 5. 8.

[33]*Der Anspruch des Dichters* (above, note 1), pp. 118-45.

[34]The evidence for Alexander as model for Octavian/Augustus is conveniently presented and analyzed by D. Kienast, "Augustus und Alexander," *Gymnasium* 76 (1964), pp. 430-56.

Dionysus, whose merits had not been recognized by deification until after their deaths because of the *phthonos/invidia* that had affected them while alive. In the *Epistle to Augustus* Horace's praise of Augustus follows that pattern: Romulus, Dionysus, and Castor and Pollux were only after their deaths received into the company of the divine; in their lifetime they complained that their civilizing deeds had not met with a due reward from their fellows; Hercules too found out that *invidia* was only to be conquered by death; Augustus, on the other hand, is given his due in his lifetime and is worshipped while he is still among us (vv. 5-17). A. R. Bellinger noticed that these lines had much in common with a passage in Arrian and another in Curtius Rufus in which the efforts of certain Greeks to curry favor with Alexander by having him treated as a god are described.[35] Bellinger drew the conclusion that Horace, Arrian and Curtius Rufus had a common source — a panegyric by Choerilus.

Arrian's version of the story is that Alexander had neglected to sacrifice to Dionysus on a day that the Macedonians held sacred to that god and had instead given a banquet in honor of the Dioskouroi. As the drinking progressed, some flatterers had said that Polydeuces and Castor were not worthy to be compared to Alexander. They had not even held back from comparing Alexander with Heracles, to the latter's disadvantage. They had made the further point that *phthonos* had stood in the way of the Dioskouroi's and Heracles' being given the honors that they deserved to receive from their contemporaries (*Anab.* IV. 8. 2-4). Clitus took exception to this, aroused Alexander's anger and was killed (IV. 8. 4-9).

Curtius' version is fuller and makes explicit what is only implicit at best in Arrian.[36] According to Curtius, an Argive poet Agis, and a Sicilian called Cleon, had filled Alexander's head with the idea that he belonged among the gods and that Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi would give way before the new divinity. This had led Alexander to command that a splendid symposium should be held on a festal day to which not only the Macedonian and Greek leaders were to be invited but also the nobility of the enemy. After being present for only a short time the king left the symposium and by pre-arrangement

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[35]"The Immortality of Alexander and Augustus," *Yale Classical Studies* 15 (1957), pp. 93-100. Bellinger is followed by Ernst Doblhofer, *Die Augustuspanegyrik des Horaz in formalhistorischer Sicht* (Heidelberg 1966), pp. 129-37.

[36]The arguments that Curtius records for and against the deification of Alexander are distributed over two separate occasions in Arrian, one being the banquet at which Clitus is killed, while the other is a banquet at which Callisthenes opposes Anaxarchos' attempt to have those present do obeisance to Alexander (*Anab.* IV. 9. 7 - 12. 7).

Cleon began to speak in his praise and to rehearse his services, services for which the only adequate recompense was their publicly recognizing that they knew that he was a god. Cleon went on to say that the Persians were not only pious in worshipping their kings as gods but wise also, since the majesty of power was a guarantee of safety. Heracles and Dionysus had not been declared gods until they had conquered the *invidia* of their contemporaries. He would therefore, even if others hesitated, do obeisance to Alexander when he entered (VIII. 5. 8-12). On this occasion it is the philosopher Callisthenes who opposes the suggestion (VIII. 5. 13-20).

The line of reasoning that lies behind both versions should take something like the following form, if spelled out in full: Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi were inferior to Alexander; that is to be seen in their only being able to conquer the *phthonos/invidia* of their contemporaries by death, and in their only being deified after their deaths. *Phthonos/invidia* should not stand in the way of Alexander's being honored as a god in his own lifetime. This amounts almost exactly to what is said in praise of Augustus by Horace in the *Letter to Augustus* with the difference that what is expressed as advice in Arrian and Curtius is translated into a statement of fact by Horace. We may infer that there was extant in antiquity a panegyric of Alexander in which it was either argued that unlike Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi, he should be accorded a just reward for his great accomplishments and be worshipped as a god while still alive, and not be deprived of that honor as they had been by *phthonos/invidia*, or in which it was simply asserted that Alexander had, unlike the others, transcended *phthonos/invidia* in his lifetime because of the magnitude of his achievements, and had been given by his contemporaries the measure of honor that was his due.

The existence of panegyrics in which Alexander was said to have transcended *phthonos/invidia* is indicated by Plutarch's adducing Cyrus and Alexander as examples of men whose successes were so great as to extinguish *phthonos*. What Plutarch says is, that since Alexander and Cyrus were conquerors and lords of all, it was not likely that men should feel *phthonos* towards them, for just as the sun obliterates all shadows below it, so too does *phthonos* diminish and retreat when it is confronted by successes of great magnitude that tower above it (*Mor.* 538 a-b).[37] We know that encomia of both Alexander and Cyrus were

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[37]What Plutarch says here agrees with what is said about *phthonos* at Arist. *Rhet.* 1388a6-13, that men feel *phthonos* towards those who are close to them in time, place, age and repute and that they feel no rivalry for those who were alive ten thousand years ago, nor for those who are yet to be, nor for the dead, nor for those who are at the Pil-

school exercises,[38] which makes it a fairly safe inference that Alexander's and Cyrus' being superior to *phthonos* were topics in such exercises.

In Curtius to attain divine status in one's lifetime is synonymous with transcending the *invidia* of one's contemporaries. This is spelled out in Claudian's *de consulatu Stilichonis:* Stilicho's *virtus* has left behind human measure and the bounds of *invidia,* for no one could feel *livor* because the stars never perish, or because Juppiter has for so long been lord of heaven, or because Apollo knows everything (3. 39-42). In Horace, Augustus' being worshipped as a *divus praesens* in contrast to Hercules, Dionysus, Romulus and the Dioskouroi who did not transcend *invidia* in their lifetime, is another instance of the conceit. The idea that to become divine in one's lifetime one must conquer *phthonos/invidia* may be relevant to the program of embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple. In the center of that temple is to be placed a statue of Octavian (*in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit,* v. 16), its doors are to be adorned with reliefs depicting Octavian's activities as world-conqueror, and there is to be a group of statues of Octavian's Juppiter-descended ancestors and Apollo, his patron deity and the founder of his ancestors' city, Troy (vv. 35 ff.). Sacrifices and Greek and Roman games are to be held in his honor (vv. 18-25). In short, he is to be worshipped as a present god on earth. The reliefs on the temple-doors will then represent the achievements in virtue of which Octavian has attained the status of *divus praesens,* while his descent from Juppiter is attested by the statues of his Juppiter-born ancestors. He is in this respect like Hercules, Dionysus, Castor and Pollux, and Alexander, who are all the progeny of Zeus.[39] In view then of the fact that Octavian is to be worshipped as a god on earth and that his temple is to be embellished with evidence of the activities that have brought him to this state, it would be entirely in keeping with this program of decoration that his transcending of *invidia* should be symbolically represented.

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lars of Heracles, nor for those who greatly surpass oneself or whom one greatly surpasses.

[38] Alexander: Cic. *de Or.* II. 84. 341, *de Fin.* II. 116; Auct. *ad Her.* 4. 31; Cyrus: Cic. *de Fin.* II. 116.

[39] On the emperor's transcending other men in virtue of his divine ancestry as a topic of praise, compare Menan. *Rhet.* 370. 21-28, and for the topic inverted, compare Plin. *Panegyr.* 14. 2.

9

Horace *Epode* 9: Some New Interpretations[1]

FRANCIS CAIRNS

I. Introduction

It is inevitable that any Augustan poem associated with the battle of
Actium will give rise to a great deal of scholarly comment; and the
volume of comment will be greater when the poem's internal impor-
tance in its book is guaranteed by its central position. But no other
"Actium" poem has created so much controversy as the ninth epode.
Scholars have begun with the supposition that Horace is attempting in it
to give an account of the battle of Actium and its aftermath. They
have then been led by the vagueness of this supposed account to adopt
a variety of hypotheses: Horace wrote the epode before the actual bat-
tle; or when only its early stages had taken place; he wrote it after the
battle; he wrote it when the battle was just over and before details of
the flight of Antonius were known; he was present at the battle; he was
not present at the battle, but heard the news, or some part of it, at
Rome, and composed the epode there; perhaps under these last cir-
cumstances he made some of the details up; or he wrote different parts
of the epode at different times; or he wrote it with "prophetic vision."
These permutations, which have been propounded over the last hun-
dred or so years, are recorded by Wistrand; and they are offered in
detailed form in the many papers and commentaries upon the epode
which have appeared both before and after that pamphlet.[2]

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[1] I am much indebted to Mr. I. M. LeM. DuQuesnay for comments on this paper
and additional information. His assent to its conclusions should not be assumed.

[2] Full bibliographical information can be found in: Erik Wistrand, *Horace's Ninth
Epode and its Historical Background* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia VIII,
Göteborg 1958); Gabriele Draeger and Monika Angermann, *Horaz-Bibliographie, seit 1950
bis zum Horatianum* (Berlin 1975); Walter Kissel, "Horaz 1936-1975: Eine Gesamtbi-
bliographie," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II. 31. 3, *Principat: Sprache und*

Only one attempt seems to have been made to bypass this welter of hypotheses. Emphasizing that *Epode* 9 is a poem and not a news bulletin, Williams argued vigorously against the idea that "the real question to be asked is: 'When was the poem written'?" (p. 215).[3] Instead Williams looked in it for recognizable literary techniques and conventions, and so came to realize that the celebration proposed at the beginning of the epode is the one which is actually seen taking place at its end. In this way he decided that the dramatic, but of course not necessarily the real, date of the epode lies after Actium but before the conquest of Egypt and Octavianus' subsequent triumph.

This general approach to the epode must surely be correct; and the poem's relationship to the early Greek symposiastic tradition warns us not to look in it for detailed historical information.[4] Rather, the inspiration for it lies in Greek lyric summaries of epic narratives, where the criteria for choice of material are basically the same as in Hellenistic poetry: sensory vividness and picturesqueness, conceptual grotesquerie, emotional, moral and psychological interest, learning and antiquarianism,[5] exactly as Propertius IV. 6, another "Actium" poem central to its book and with a more complex Greek background, prefers to relate "myths" about the battle rather than to follow the detailed strategy and tactics of the campaign.[6]

In this study I wish to offer new interpretations of various aspects of *Epode* 9. First the overall choice of material in verses 7-20 — the section of the epode dealing with recent Roman history — will be examined. Then Horace's treatment of "Africanus" (v. 25) will be

Literatur, ed. Wolfgang Haase, (Berlin-New York 1981), pp. 1472 ff.; and Aldo Setaioli,"Gli 'Epodi' di Orazio nella critica del 1937 al 1972," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II. 31. 3, *Principat: Sprache und Literatur,* ed. Wolfgang Haase, (Berlin-New York 1981), pp. 1716-1732. I have referred only to work relevant to specific points. Professor M. J. McGann's forthcoming paper on *Epode* 9, which approaches it from a different point of view, was made available to me at an early stage in my preparation of this paper.

[3]Gordon Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968), pp. 212 ff.

[4]For this approach see also Christfried Bartels, "Die neunte Epode des Horaz als sympotisches Gedicht," *Hermes* 101 (1973), pp. 282-313.

[5]See Francis Cairns, *Tibullus: a Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge 1979), Ch. 1.

[6]In "Properzio 4, 6: manierismo ellenistico e classicismo augusteo," to appear in the *Atti* of the *Colloquium Propertianum (tertium) 1981,* a paper delivered by me at the Colloquium Propertianum in Assisi in May 1981, I adumbrated an interpretation of Propertius IV. 6 which stresses this aspect of it. A fuller canonical English version will appear in a volume forthcoming from the Cambridge University Press, dedicated to poetry and politics in the Augustan Age, edited by Prof. D. A. West and Prof. A. J. Woodman.

discussed, and new interpretations will be offered both of vv. 27-32 and of *sinistrorsum* in v. 20. In conclusion some observations will be made on Horace's poetic techniques in *Epode* 9.

II. Recent History: verses 7-20

In vv. 7-20 Horace refers first to his earlier celebration of the defeat of Sex. Pompeius at Naulochus in 35 B.C. (vv. 7-10). There is an indirect allusion to the battle of Actium in the word *actus* (v. 7). This is a piece of creative etymologizing of a type common in Augustan poetry[7] and it is intended to reinforce (cf. *ut nuper*, v. 7) the analogies between the two sea-battles — with Pompeius and with Antonius — and, by implication, the analogous character of these two adversaries of Octavianus. Horace mocks Pompeius' blasphemous and, as his defeat at sea showed, false self-association with Neptune in *Neptunius...dux* (vv. 7 ff.), linking it to his supposed threat, known to be equally vain and implied to be equally blasphemous, that he would place upon Rome the chains which he had removed from his own slaves (vv. 9 ff.). The concept of slavery is used as a bridge to introduce the forces more recently opposed to Octavianus. The Romans among these, Horace claims, have voluntarily made themselves slaves to a woman, Cleopatra, the present archenemy of Rome (v. 12) and to her eunuchs (vv. 13 ff., esp. *servire*). As a contrast with these servile Romans opposing Octavianus, Horace introduces the Galatians of Amyntas, who deserted to Octavianus before Actium (vv. 17 ff.). By calling the Galatians *Galli* and not *Galatae* or *Gallograeci*, Horace first of all is being precise in his ethnography by specifying that the Galatians originated in Gallic tribes who settled in Asia Minor,[8] and thus he is demonstrating *doctrina* of the type generally affected by Hellenistic and Augustan poets.[9] He is also, by combining this term with *Caesarem* (v. 18), making a political point through an allusion to Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul and to the subsequent attachment of the Gauls to his, and hence to Octavianus's, *clientela*.[10] Horace is suggesting that the Galatians are not deserters betraying their cause but are really virtuous Caesarians who are returning to their true and natural allegiance. They are doing so bravely in a situation of danger, one in which some servile Roman citizens remained obedient to Cleopatra and her eunuchs, and in which Cleopatra's cowardly Egyptian fleet lurks in port (vv. 19 ff.).

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[7]Cf. Cairns (above, note 5), Ch. 4.

[8]Cf. *RE* s.v. *Galatia*, pp. 522 ff.; *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. *Galatia*.

[9]On geography and ethnology as learned Alexandrian interests, cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford 1972), pp. 520 ff.

The factual element in vv. 7-20 is minor; and although vv. 11-20 relate to the battle of Actium, they cannot be said to "describe" any part of it. Horace, as befits the heir of Callimachus in his *Iambi,* and as is typical of Augustan poets, is highly moral in his emphasis: boastful Sex. Pompeius; his flight (v. 8); his threat (vv. 9 ff.); the contrast between slaves and free (vv. 10, 11 ff.); treachery (*perfidis,* v. 10); a woman and her eunuchs (vv. 12-14); bravery (vv. 17 ff.) and cowardice (vv. 19 ff.). Hellenistic sensory interest is also prominent:[11] the grotesque premature wrinkles of the Egyptian eunuchs; the sun glinting on the alien mosquito net amid the Roman standards; and the war cry of the Galatians.

Horace is not simply following a literary course here; he has chosen this poetic technique because it is apt for his main propaganda purpose — to disguise as far as possible the civil element of the Actian war, and indeed of the war with Pompeius, and to represent the first as a war against slaves and the second as a war against foreigners. This was of course the official Augustan position:

> Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant triginta fere millia...tradidi(*Res Gestae* 25);

> Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci...antea Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatas bello servili reciperavi...(*ibid.,* 27).

Note too the deliberate avoidance of Antonius' name in the account of the Actian war in *Res Gestae* 24 and 25.

III. Past History: Africanus

The train of thought is abruptly broken at v. 21 with the invocation *Io Triumphe,* which is repeated at v. 23. The two invocations imply the successful conclusion of the second war, as of the first, and they modulate in v. 23 into reminiscences of Rome's past triumphs; Octavianus will be a greater *triumphator* than C. Marius, from whom Julius Caesar inherited his political platform. He is greater also than "Africanus."

The identification of Africanus as the elder Scipio is not unquestioned[12] and, as Bentley saw long ago, there is some conflation here of the elder Scipio, who defeated Hannibal, and the younger Scipio, who destroyed Carthage. Horace will naturally not himself have been confused about the historical facts. He simply wanted to adopt a peculiarly

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[10]On the general principle, cf. *RE* s.v. *Clientes,* pp. 26 ff.

[11]Cf. Cairns (above, note 5) "General Index" s.v. *sensory emphasis.*

[12]On the controversy, cf. Bartels (above, note 4), p. 300.

Roman way of looking at men of the same family by conflating the pair.[13] But the elder Africanus is the more prominent in Horace's mind. A similar proceeding on Horace's part in *Odes* IV. 8. 13-20 has caused unnecessary doubts about the genuineness of some lines:[14]

> non incisa notis marmora publicis,
> per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
> post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
> reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
> non incendia Carthaginis impiae
> eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
> lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
> laudes quem Calabrae Pierides.

The second and third Punic Wars are assimilated here as well as the two Scipiones, and in this way the eventual destruction of Carthage is associated by implication with the elder Scipio rather than the younger. Accordingly, Horace is able to identify the poetic celebration by Ennius of the elder Scipio as the lasting reason for his fame; his tomb, possibly a subject of controversy,[15] and its inscription, are relegated to a lower place in preserving his reputation, in accordance with the conventional assertion that poetry outlives monuments.[16] One may best compare Statius, *Silvae* II. 7. 72, where Lucan's *Pharsalia* is described as *Pompeio sepulchrum*.[17] It is of particular interest that Horace appears to be referring again at *Epode* 9. 26 to the same controversy over Scipio's tomb, and again by implication to Ennius' poem, which is once more represented as the true lasting memorial of Scipio Africanus. The implication is achieved by mention of Africanus' *virtus* (*Epode* 9. 26); this made him the subject of Ennius' poem and assured that his fame outlasted Carthage. Another Scipionic conflation can be seen at *Odes* II. 12. 1-4, discussed below.

This interpretation, which is an old but sound one (cf. Bentley *ad loc.*), and the new interpretation, which will be offered of vv. 27 ff., are mutually supportive; and both are confirmed by the abundant historical interest of the epode, first in Sex. Pompeius, then in Jugurtha, and

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[13]The most outstanding example of this tendency is the topos of the glory reflected by descendants on their ancestors; cf. Cairns (above, note 5), p. 131, n. 41. See below for further arguments about this conflation.

[14]Cf. Hans Peter Syndikus, *Die Lyrik des Horaz. Eine Interpretation der Oden. Band II. Drittes und viertes Buch,* (Darmstadt 1973), pp. 364 ff.

[15]The evidence for this is however slight, being confined to the scholiasts on Horace. It may be nothing more than fiction invented to explain the reference.

[16]In Horace's work *Odes* III. 30 is a notable example.

[17]Cf. Bartels (above, note 4), p. 299.

then in the Hannibalic war.

IV. Past History: verses 27-32

All previous commentators have assumed that vv. 27-32 describe M. Antonius and his flight after the battle of Actium. This view creates a number of severe problems, since Antonius (a) was not defeated on land, (b) did not go or attempt to go to Crete, (c) was not involved with the Syrtes, (d) did not flee in a state of uncertainty but went in a straight line to Egypt, touching land at Tainarum in Southern Laconia and then going on to Paraetonium (Marsa Matruh) on the Egyptian coast,[18] from where he first sent Cleopatra on to Alexandria and then went there himself. No doubt each of these embarrassments could be explained away if it stood alone. But as a group the descriptions simply do not fit M. Antonius; and this is the reason for the welter of peculiar suggestions made by scholars about the information available to Horace when he was writing *Epode* 9 and about the time when he wrote it.

All these problems disappear on one simple hypothesis: just as *Odes* IV. 8. 13-20 (quoted above) associates the glory of Africanus with the *celeres fugae* of Hannibal, so the *victus hostis* of *Epode* 9. 27, who follows immediately after the mention of Africanus and Carthage in vv. 25 ff., is none other than Hannibal, so that the striking asyndeton which comes in the interval at v. 27 is the typical explanatory-amplificatory asyndeton of early Greek lyric.[19] In linking the flight of Hannibal with the elder Scipio Africanus' victory at Zama and his subsequent triumph at *Epode* 9. 25 ff., Horace is being just as sketchy in historical terms as he is at *Odes* IV. 8. 15 ff. when, as noted above, he seems to be linking the destruction of Carthage with the elder rather than the younger Scipio and then goes on to speak of Hannibal's *celeres fugae* in the same context. Hannibal's first flight (which was from Carthage) took place in fact not immediately after the victory of Rome in the second Punic war, but some time later, when his enemies in Carthage had induced the Romans to accuse him of communication with King Antiochus. His second flight, this time from King

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[18]The sources are Plutarch, *Ant.* 69; Dio 51. 5; Orosius VI. 19. 11 ff. Plutarch and Dio speak of Paraetonium as being in Libya, which it may have been in ancient, but not modern, terms. Orosius is better aware of the strategic situation when he speaks of *duo Aegypti cornua Pelusium Parethoniumque* (VI. 19. 13) (cf. *Parethonium, primam Aegypti a Libyae parte civitatem,* VI. 19. 15). At all events, Paraetonium (Marsa Matruh) is nowhere near either of the Syrtes.

[19]Cf. Francis Cairns, "*Splendide Mendax:* Horace *Odes* III. 11," *Greece and Rome* 22 (1975), p. 130 and n. 10; not (*pace* Williams [above, note 3], p. 217) "contrasting asyndeton."

Antiochus' court, was again later.

Horace gives various details of his *hostis'* actions in *Epode* 9. 27-32. Some can be elucidated from other sources dealing with Hannibal's flights. Livy records the first flight as follows:

> itaque cedere tempori et fortunae statuit, et praeparatis iam ante omnibus ad fugam, obversatus eo die in foro avertendae suspicionis causa, primis tenebris vestitu forensi ad portam cum duobus comitibus ignaris consilii est egressus. cum equi, quo in loco iusserat, praesto fuissent, nocte Byzacium — ita regionem quandam Afri vocant — transgressus, postero die ad mare inter Acyllam et Thapsum ad suam turrem pervenit. ibi eum parata instructaque remigio excepit navis. ita Africa Hannibal excessit, saepius patriae quam suum eventum miseratus. eodem die in Cercinam insulam traiecit. (XXXIII. 47 ff.)

If Livy's account had been lost, we would have had to assume that the *punicum* of *Epode* 9. 27 was a *punicum sagum,* a purple military cloak which Horace supposed Hannibal wore on the analogy of the purple *sagum* worn by Roman military commanders (cf. *OLD* s.vv. *sagulum, sagum*). Hannibal's changing out of it and into a common soldier's *lugubre sagum* would then be another simple case of the topos of defeated generals changing their garments, found also in Plutarch and Velleius. Plutarch, *Caesar* 45. 729, records that Pompey doffed his general's cloak after Pharsalia; so did Lepidus as Velleius notes (2. 80), after being deserted by his soldiers. In the latter description we might compare *pulloque...amiculo* (of the replacement clothing donned by Lepidus), with the *lugubre...sagum* of *Epode* 9. 28. But Livy's specific information about Hannibal's garb at the time of his first flight suggests a modified approach. Hannibal was at this time, as Livy tells us (XXXIII. 46. 3), *praetor,* that is, one of the two suffetes who were the supreme magistrates at Carthage. Justinus (XXXI. 2. 6) calls him *tum temporis consulem.* Having thus in the immediately preceding passage stressed that Hannibal was suffete, Livy then tells us that Hannibal left Carthage wearing his *vestitus forensis* in order to allay suspicion. In context this must mean his suffete's robe. Now we do not know what suffetes wore — and Livy probably had no clear idea on the subject — but Romans would have assumed that the suffetes wore what their Roman equivalents did, the purple-striped *toga praetexta.*[20] The *punicum* thus may be the *toga praetexta.*

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[20]Purple robes had of course royal associations (Cic. *Phil.* 2. 34 and Mayor *ad loc.*; Serv. ad *Aen.* VII. 612) and the suffetes were often described as *reges* (cf. *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. *sufeten*). If this association was paramount in Roman minds, then the *punicum* might be a *trabea.*

The point is not of major importance; and it is possible that Horace did not know the *vestitus forensis* story. We must remember also that Livy does not say that Hannibal then doffed his *vestitus forensis,* although he can hardly have thought that he went to sea in it. Horace could then simply be using the standard topos in a standard form, so that the *punicum* doffed by Hannibal is a purple *sagum.* But it would be strange if Horace did not know the *vestitus forensis* tale and even stranger if he had ignored it. There is also another slight advantage in the view that Horace meant *punicum* as "consul's robe." The terms *saga sumere* and *ad saga ire* meant "to go to war" (cf. *OLD* s.vv.citt.). If Horace is saying that Hannibal doffed a civilian robe and put on a *sagum,* there is the additional degradation for Hannibal that, having been thoroughly defeated as a general by Rome and Africanus in the past, he is now forced to leave civilian life and go to war again — and this time in a common soldier's *sagum.*

Both suppositions are consonant with Horace's liking for wordplays on *Poenus* and terms for purple in contexts where Hannibal is involved. The other relevant passages may be quoted here since they will be referred to again below:

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
nec durum **Hannibalem** nec Siculum mare
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
   aptari citharae modis,... (*Odes* II. 12. 1-4)

non his iuventus orta parentibus
infecit aequor **sanguine Punico,**
   Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
      Antiochum **Hannibalemque** dirum,... (*Odes,* III. 6. 33-36)

Another detail in Horace's account of the movements of the *victus hostis* (v. 27) also fits Hannibal's first flight. After leaving Africa Hannibal first *eodem die in Cercinam insulam traiecit* (Livy XXXIII. 48). The island of Cercina lies in the Syrtis Minor off the coast of Africa; and Horace notes that his *hostis, exercitatas aut petit Syrtis Noto* (v. 31). From there Hannibal, on his first flight, sailed to Tyre, then to Antiochea, then to Daphne and finally to Ephesus, where he met King Antiochus. None of these places is in Crete, which Horace refers to in the Homerizing expression *centum nobilem Cretam urbibus* (v. 29).[21] But on his second flight Hannibal did indeed go to Crete (Nepos, *Hannibal* 9; Justinus XXXII. 4. 3 ff.). He resided at Gortyn in Crete for some time and played, at any rate in popular belief, a celebrated trick upon

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[21] Κρήτη ἑκατόμπολις, *Iliad* II. 649 and also *Odes* III. 27. 33 ff.

the citizens of that town. It looks as though, just as Horace conflates the two Scipiones here, in *Odes* IV. 8. 13 ff. and elsewhere (see below), and just as he conflates the two flights of Hannibal in *celeres fugae* at *Odes* IV. 8. 15, so he is conflating Hannibal's two flights again in *Epode* 9.

Horace's phrase about Hannibal, *terra marique victus* (v. 27) can be explained in two different ways. On the first explanation Hannibal was defeated by Scipio Africanus the elder at Zama on land, and, at a later point, he suffered defeat in a sea-battle at the hands of the Rhodians at Side (Livy XXXVII. 23 f.; Nepos, *Hannibal* 8. 4). The second explanation is suggested first by *Odes* II. 12. 1-4 (quoted above) — see Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.* Here Horace conflates the Roman victories at sea in the first Punic war (vv. 2 ff.) and Hannibal's defeat in the second Punic war (v. 2), and for good measure combines this with yet another Scipionic conflation, between Scipio Africanus the younger, victor at Numantia (v. 1) (and also destroyer of Carthage), and Scipio Africanus the elder (v. 2). The explanation is reinforced by *Odes* III. 6. 33-36 (also quoted above), where the Roman naval victories of the first Punic war are linked with the Roman victory over Pyrrhus and then with two defeats of Hannibal, at Zama and later when he was the general of Antiochus. If conflations like these are in play in *Epode* 9. 27, then the *mari* element of *terra marique victus* could refer to the naval battles of the first Punic war, so that in vv. 25-28 all three Punic wars were being referred to.

Horace's remaining words about Hannibal, *ventis iturus non suis* (v. 30) and *incerto mari* (v. 32), may refer to his uncertainty about his ultimate destination on his second flight. Keller-Holder *ad loc.* produce examples of such uncertainty — cf. esp. Seneca *Epistles* 71. 3: *ignoranti, quem portum petat, nullus suus ventus est.* It is perhaps more likely, however, that just as the change of dress derives from a standard description of the flights of famous leaders, so this idea also does. Whatever one decides about this point, it is interesting that the prophecy of Hannibal's second exile in Silius Italicus *Punica* 13. 885-87 displays some similar phraseology:

> post Itala bella
> Assyrio famulus regi falsusque cupiti
> Ausoniae motus, **dubio petet aequora velo**....

The interpretation offered of vv. 25-32 involves hypothesizing a certain amount of temporal dislocation in Horace's account of Hannibal. In itself this is not a difficult hypothesis, since such temporal dislocations, like the episodic narrative technique employed by Horace in the

epode, are perfectly in keeping with its literary background. The epodes, as is well known, are inspired by the early Greek iambographers Archilochus and Hipponax, and by the Hellenistic iambographer Callimachus. In both traditions such temporal distortions are common;[22] and it should be remembered that Horace is working within a living Greek Hellenistic tradition as transferred to Rome. But there are also more particular indications to support the notion that Horace is distorting chronology here. In this very epode chronology is reversed in the progression from Sex. Pompeius to Jugurtha to Africanus. Again, among the other Horatian passages relating to Hannibal, *Odes* IV. 8. 15 ff. reverses the chronological order of Hannibal's *reiectaeque...minae* (v. 16) and of his *celeres fugae* (v. 15) before returning to chronological order with the *incendia Carthaginis* (v. 17); *Odes* II. 12. 1-4 present the Numantine war, the second Punic war and the first Punic war in reverse temporal order; in *Odes* III. 6. 33-36 the first Punic war is followed by the previous defeat of Pyrrhus and then by Antiochus before Hannibal, who was an earlier adversary of Rome as well as a joint adversary of Rome along with Antiochus, makes his appearance. Finally in *Epode* 16, in another context involving Hannibal, an even more colorful welter of temporal dislocations can be found:

> quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
>   minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,
> aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer
>   novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
> nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube
>   parentibusque abominatus Hannibal,... (*Epode* 16. 3-8)

It is quite clear then that Horace does not feel bound to follow strict chronological sequence when using historical *exempla*. An interesting additional, and non-Horatian example, of temporal dislocation in exactly the same type of context, which unites the victory of Augustus at Actium and a number of parallels from past Roman history including Hannibal, and a mode of treatment not dissimilar to that seen in *Epode* 9, is Propertius III. 11. 29-72.

If this interpretation of vv. 27-32 is correct,[23] then various consequences follow. On a minor level *petit* (v. 31) and *fertur* (v. 32) are

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[22]Cf. Cairns (above, note 5), "General Index" s.v. *temporal dislocation* etc.

[23]A skeptic who believed that the *hostiliumque navium* (v. 19) referred to the ships of Antonius and Cleopatra, rather than just to those of Cleopatra, might claim that *hostilium* there argued against the identification of the *hostis* of v. 27 as Hannibal. But Horace in this epode quite deliberately repeats the same words with different references. So *dux* (v. 8) is Sex. Pompeius, whereas *ducem* (v. 24) is Octavianus. Similarly *navibus* (v. 8) are those of Sex. Pompeius and *navium* (v. 19) those of Cleopatra.

historic presents.[24] More important, the epode can be seen to be even less a description of the battle of Actium than some have thought. Rather it is Horace's meditation on the victory of Actium, as he places it within a Roman historical context. Cleopatra is mentioned, but she is dealt with briskly (v. 12). M. Antonius is not actually mentioned at all: he is glimpsed only indirectly through the filter of some of Rome's most notorious enemies, Sex. Pompeius, Jugurtha and Hannibal. The implication throughout is of course that Antonius is a *hostis* of the Roman people.

V. The Enemy Fleet: verses 19 ff.

Scholars have sought with little success to elicit from these two lines conclusions about the maneuvers and disposition of the Egyptian fleet. The stumbling block has been *sinistrorsum,* a word which appears to have no technical status in Roman naval or military language. A new approach is needed. The Homeric allusion of v. 29 has already been noted; and indeed it is only one of many such Horatian translations of Homeric terms and phrases found throughout his work.[25] Now in v. 20 the phrase *puppes...citae* (cf. the similar phrase in another Actian poem, *Odes,* I. 37. 2, *nec latentes / classe cita reparavit oras*) translates the Homeric phrase θοαὶ νῆες. This suggests that *sinistrorsum* translates its equally literal Homeric equivalent ἐπ' ἀριστερά.

But what significance could *sinistrorsum* have, if it does so? ἐπ' ἀριστερά occurs thirteen times in the *Iliad.* There was some controversy in antiquity over its meaning, as can be seen both from the Homeric scholia on *Iliad* VII. 238 and from Eustathius *ad loc.* One of the explanations offered by the scholia and Eustathius of this phrase and of its opposite ἐπὶ δεξιά is extremely apposite for *Epode* 9. 19 ff.: δεξιά μὲν τὸ διώκειν, ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὸ φεύγειν (Schol. Σ234 al.). Schol. BCE³E⁴ offer a muddled variant of the same gloss: ἢ τὸ μὲν νικᾶν καὶ διώκειν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κινεῖν εἶπε τὴν ἀσπίδα διὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν τῶν δεξιῶν, τὸ δὲ φεύγειν καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κινεῖν φησὶν εὐφημότερον...τὸ δὲ φεύγειν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λέγει νωμᾶν. τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν αὐτὴν ἔχει τοῦ διώκοντος. (Eustathius 679. 15-19)

In these terms, ἐπ' ἀριστερά signifies fleeing and being defeated. Now we know that Hellenistic and Roman poets were familiar not only

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[24]Therefore not, with Wistrand (above, note 2), pp. 49 ff., "prophetic presents." On historic presents see Nisbet-Hubbard on *Odes* I. 34. 12.

[25]Theodor Arnold and Wilhelm Fries, *Die griechischen Studien des Horaz* (Halle 1891), pp. 12 ff.

with Homer but also with the ancient commentaries on Homer,[26] that controversies upon disputed phrases interested them particularly, and that they frequently offer implied interpretations of such phrases in their learned poetry. Horace is showing his knowledge of, and verdict upon, the Homeric problem of the meaning of ἐπ' ἀριστερά. At the same time he is elegantly conveying the notion that the swift prows of the enemy ships lurk in harbor in flight and in defeat. The reference is of course to the flight to Egypt of Cleopatra and her ships, which, technically speaking, had not actually been defeated in the battle.

Further confirmation that Horace is translating Homeric ἐπ' ἀριστερά in *sinistrorsum,* and that he is alluding to a gloss upon it of the type found in the scholia and Eustathius, comes from *Iliad* XII. 108-19. Here the Trojan Hyrtacides rashly decides to attack the Greek ships. He comes in his chariot close up to the νήεσσι θοῇσι (112); and (118) εἴσατο ("went") − *v.l.* εἴσατο ("lurked") − νηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερά ("to the left of the ships").[27] The phrases "swift ships," "lurking"[28] (*latent*), and "to the left of the ships" all come together in this passage. It is unlikely that the inspiration is direct; rather we have in this passage the Homeric original of a lost Greek intermediary or intermediaries known to Horace − probably early Greek but possibly Hellenistic − which may aready have incorporated some such explanation of ἐπ' ἀριστερά.

VI. Some General Observations

The interpretations advanced above gain further useful confirmation from the fact that they bring the epode into conformity with other Horatian and Augustan poetry in three significant ways.

(a) The compositional technique of *Epode* 9 now reveals itself as similar to that found in some of the odes; for a substantial part of the poem Horace moves away from the matter at hand into a train of myth or historical *exempla* which is nevertheless rich, like its early Greek

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[26]Hellenistic Greek literary *Homerkritik* is common knowledge. For major Roman interest in this area, cf. Robin Schlunk *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid,* (Ann Arbor 1974).

[27]Νηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερά also occurs at *Iliad* XIII. 675.

[28]If *portu latent* represents a Greek original ναυλοχοῦσι (as Mr. DuQuesnay suggests to me) then the intermediary hypothesis becomes even more attractive since ναυλοχέω often means not just "to lie in harbor" but "to lurk in harbor in ambush" (cf. *LSJ* s.v.). This nuance is not appropriate to *Epode* 9. 19 ff. but it fits a putative εἴσατο precisely − and it is just the sort of nuance to be lost or abandoned in transmission. The word ναυλοχέω would of course have interested Horace in this context, given Sex. Pompeius was defeated at Naulochus (*Epode* 9. 7 ff.).

antecedents, in associative and illustrative value for the main theme. *Odes* I. 7 and III. 27 are outstanding examples of this technique; but it is much more widespread.

(b) The conceptual structure of the epode — a typical ring-composition — and the typical Hellenistic pattern of balanced asymmetry [29] within it (C1 expanded, C2 contracted; B2 expanded more than B1 in compensation) become clear once Sex. Pompeius can be seen to have Hannibal as his structural counterpart.[30] The thematic outline is something as follows:

A1	1-6	The symposiastic celebration (cf. *Caecubum*, 1)
B1	7-10	The great former victory of Octavianus over Sex. Pompeius
C1	11-20	a) 11-16 The present enemy Cleopatra b) 17-20 also defeated by Octavianus
D	21-23	The future triumph of Octavianus [center]
C2	23-24	The past victory and triumph of C. Marius over Jugurtha
B2	25-32	The great former victory and triumph of Scipio Africanus over Hannibal, and its consequences
A2	33-38	The symposiastic celebration (cf. *Caecubum*, 36).

A clear temporal structure[31] can also be seen within these themes, and this balances in some measure the temporal dislocations examined above.

(c) Since the epode can now be seen to deal in the main with the African enemies of Rome, Cleopatra, Jugurtha and Hannibal, its view of Actium is the same as that presented by Virgil in the *Aeneid:* the Actian war is the final surfacing of a longstanding hostility between Rome and African nations, which originated in the love-affair between Dido and Aeneas, and which in the past expressed itself most severely in the wars between Rome and Carthage.

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[29]On both features see Cairns (above, note 5), Ch. 8.

[30]It is particularly interesting that Sex. Pompeius in *Epode* 9 fled (*fugit,* v. 8) and used threats (*minatus,* v. 9) while in *Odes* IV. 8. 15 ff. the words *celeres fugae / reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae* apply to Hannibal.

[31]Cf. Cairns (above, note 5), pp. 212 ff.

The only Roman enemy now mentioned in *Epode* 9 is the renegade and pirate Sex. Pompeius. M. Antonius appears nowhere in person. In this, as in many other features, *Epode* 9 moves closer to *Odes* I. 37, as indeed to Propertius III. 11 and IV. 6. In such Augustan "Actium" poems the contemporary enemy on whom the limelight falls is Cleopatra, and Antony is either ignored or receives scant explicit mention — a reflection of official Augustan propaganda, in which the Actian war was not a civil war, but a foreign war against the Queen of Egypt, Cleopatra.[32]

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[32]On this aspect cf. already Williams (above, note 3), pp. 217 ff.

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The Cause of Ovid's Exile

G. P. GOOLD

All the world loves a mystery, for behind a mystery may lie enough romance and adventure to gratify even the wildest imagination, whereas the clear and self-explanatory becomes all too often dull and boring. The assassination of President Kennedy, though the subject of an investigation conducted with unparalleled intensity, will — at least for some — remain a mystery forever, though for others it is no mystery at all. Casting our minds back over history we shall have no difficulty in adducing other examples of this phenomenon, namely the rejection of a simple and straightforward explanation not so much in favor of an alternative as for the acceptance of a permanent state of uncertainty, from which disappointment is banished and in which the powers of the imagination are perpetually nourished by evergreen hopes and speculations.

Ovid's exile no mystery

Description of Ovid's exile as a mystery is universal, and inasmuch as there is no agreement about the effective clause of the indictment, the word cannot be censured. In his survey of the problem Thibault found himself forced to conclude, after cataloguing a remarkably large number of hypotheses, that "none is completely satisfactory."[1] Thus, before we have even begun to examine any of the evidence, we are tempted to form a prejudice that the mystery felt by modern scholars is a genuine mystery, handed down by tradition from Ovid's own times.

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[1]John C. Thibault, *The Mystery of Ovid's Exile* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1964), p. 121.

However, in his autobiographical poem, *Trist.* 4. 10, Ovid says quite categorically: ''The cause of my ruin, only too well known to everyone, is not to be revealed by evidence of mine'':

> Causa meae cunctis nimium quoque nota ruinae
> indicio non est testificanda meo. (vv. 99-100)

Everyone at Rome knew the reason, says Ovid, almost as though it were superfluous for him to specify what it was and perhaps shame himself in the eyes of posterity. Now, if Ovid's sin were generally known, we cannot take the position that it was something frightfully hush-hush and that he carried to the grave through long years in exile a secret potentially dangerous to Augustus. Not but what this position is occasionally taken: ''What everyone knew,'' says Hollis, ''was merely that Ovid had offended the emperor.''[2] But surely Ovid is more specific than this? The natural interpretation of the couplet is that, though the offense could not tactfully be discussed in public, everyone knew what it was. Again, Ovid writes at *Pont.* I. 7. 39-40: ''Just as I wish I could deny my guilt, so too everyone knows (*nemo nescit*) that mine was no crime.'' The couplet patently means that the effective cause of Ovid's banishment was widely known.

Another consideration we must bear in mind is that the only evidence we have is that of Ovid himself. He is hardly a disinterested witness. Besides possessing phenomenal rhetorical skill — his poems are full of examples in which he presents a situation from two contrary points of view — he was after all fighting a determined battle for reinstatement, for him virtually a battle for life itself. Moreover, he is quite capable of totally misleading us, as when he says he burnt the *Metamorphoses*, or that this poem lacks the finishing touches.[3] He is quite capable of sheer romancing, as when he tells us of poems he composed in the Getic tongue.[4] Tomis was no doubt bleak and joyless for the outcast, but his description of the landscape and environment would never suggest the fact that tourists today flock there in large numbers.

It is perhaps not surprising, though for our enquiry it is most unfortunate, that we have no early imperial notice of Ovid's banishment. But I think we must accept this as devoid of significance; we are in like case with Catullus, about whom there is not a word in Cicero.

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[2] A. S. Hollis, *Ovid, Ars Amatoria, Book I* (Oxford 1977), p. xiv, n. 2.

[3] *Trist.* I. 7. 14, 20. The lie is given to these assertions by Ovid himself, in verse 24, in his admission that the poem (hardly then incomplete) had been transcribed in numerous copies.

[4] *Pont.* IV. 13. 19-22 (in contrast to *Trist.* V. 10. 35-42).

No doubt Suetonius gave some colorful version (perhaps even the truth) in his *De Poetis,* but it has not survived. We are left with Ovid's uncorroborated statements. Still, we need not be too eager to disbelieve him. Indeed, inasmuch as he is appealing for help from influential Romans who would readily have detected fundamental misstatements of fact, his unequivocal testimony on basic matters ought to be reliable. Where, on the other hand, he is evasive or ambiguous or appears to take shelter in vague or cryptic utterance, there we should be on our guard. As I have argued earlier, Ovid was not in possession of a secret which threatened Augustus. How could the latter have tolerated this? It would have been so easy for him to contrive Ovid's suicide. Certainly, to banish the most articulate of living Romans to a place beyond instant control and from which he could, and did, send a spate of missives to Rome was no way to keep his mouth shut.

Ovid's early publications

The inquiry will best begin with a brief review of Ovid's career up to the time of his disgrace. He was born of an old and wealthy equestrian family in 43 B.C., studied rhetoric at Rome and Athens, and made as if to devote himself to a political career; but his virtuosity as poet beckoned him in a different direction, and in early manhood he made the decision to abandon all other callings and dedicate himself full-time to the Muses.

From about 20 B.C., for over two decades, Ovid poured forth with uninterrupted regularity a series of elegiac works that far surpassed anything ever previously attempted in their open mockery of accepted sexual morality. When we reflect that Ovid's wit was as smart as Oscar Wilde's, and his genius in creating elegiac music out of the Latin language positively Mozartian, we can hardly be surprised that at the end of this period he had established himself as Rome's foremost poet, and was the idol of the capital.

The *Amores,* originally in five books, probably published at the rate of a book a year, were completed by about 15 B.C. His tragedy, *Medea* (now lost), may have been next (or if it was not, it was at any rate an early work); and certainly there followed the *Heroides* (I mean the single poems 1-15), which takes us up to about 5 B.C.

In thus talking of Ovid's output over the period 20 B.C. - 5 B.C., I ought to issue a caveat about the terms 'publication' and 'edition'; even

so authoritative a scholar as Syme[5] talks of 'publication' and 'edition' as if Ovid's work was brought out by Harper & Row or the Oxford University Press. The reality must have been very different: a clue to the meaning of book-production at this time may be found in the nature of his *Medea,* which was closer to Senecan than to early republican tragedy. Ovid recited his poems at soirées in salons, and recitations must to some extent have served as publication. Assuredly they gained him considerable publicity; he boasts of being the talk of Rome, and there is no reason to disbelieve him. As for second editions, they seem to have been remarkably few in antiquity: *nescit vox missa reverti.* We cannot say that because of the change of dedication the six books of the *Fasti* which we have constitute a revised edition, for that work was never issued as a first: indeed, it was never completed, and what we have of it was not given to the world until after the poet's death. Even the so-called second edition of the *Amores,* that which we have, containing three books rather than five (according to the prefatory epigram), may not have involved re-writing, merely the suppression of some excessively shocking poems that had amused when heard but given offense when read.

From 1 B.C. to A.D. 2 there burst upon Rome the wittiest and naughtiest of Ovid's compositions: first, in 1 B.C., Books I and II of the *Ars Amatoria* (The Playboy's Handbook: Book I: Where to find your girl and how to seduce her; Book II: How to keep her). A year or two later came an afterthought, Book III (Advice to Playgirls), and hard on its heels a kind of mock-recantation, the *Remedia Amoris* (How, having fallen in love, to fall out of it).

It is a pity we cannot be more precise about the dates, for it was in 2 B.C. that Julia, the emperor's own daughter, was accused by him of immoral conduct and summarily banished. The senators were not suffered to remain in ignorance of the details; Augustus saw to it that documentary evidence of her numerous affairs was read out to them. In view of what is to come, it is noteworthy that, for several years after Julia had been visited with such condign punishment, Ovid's scandalous series of publications should issue forth without abatement and without attracting censure. And this will be no less true if with Syme and others we fancy that the *Ars Amatoria* was first produced several years earlier, say between 9 and 6 B.C. In either case, Augustus missed a splendid opportunity of proceeding against Ovid at the time of his daughter's banishment. Syme's chief reason is that the passage in *Ars Amatoria* I dealing with the Sea-battle and the digression on the

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[5]Ronald Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978), Chapter I (pp. 1-20).

Parthian War of Gaius Caesar (which fixes the date firmly at 1 B.C.) is an insertion. The suggestion of a second edition is resisted by Hollis,[6] and I am sure he is right. Self-contained episodes may throw light on the order of composition, but external evidence is needed to justify theories of separate editions. Why, the Laocoon episode in *Aeneid* II is universally conceded to be a careful insertion by Virgil, but no one has ever argued that *Aeneid* II was published in an early edition before Virgil's death.

Syme also conjectures that between the first two books of the *Ars Amatoria* and Book III there intervened the second edition of the *Amores* and what he calls the final edition of the *Heroides* (i.e. with the addition of 16-21).[7] Nothing could be more improbable than that Ovid interrupted his composition of the *Ars Amatoria* for other compositions; and that *Heroides* 16-21 were not so produced can be definitively proved.

Propertius left an indelible mark on Latin elegiac verse composition by his gradual progression towards ending every pentameter with a word of two syllables. In his first book the proportion of disyllabic endings is 63.7%; in the second 89.4%; in the third 97.6%; and in the fourth 98.7%. Whatever we may feel about the aesthetics of this principle, there can be no doubt that Ovid regarded it — for whatever reason — as mandatory. So much so that in all his early work, from the *Amores* to the *Remedia Amoris,* that is in nearly 4,500 pentameters, there is not one single pentameter which ends with a polysyllabic word.

In his *Fasti,* which he was working on when he was exiled, however, there are two polysyllabic endings; in *Heroides* 16-21 there are three; and in the exilic poems (nearly 3,700 pentameters) there are 48.[8] What does this mean? Why should a virtuoso poet who sets up an invariable rule continue to observe it, but only for 99% of the time? One can understand an artist making a clean break with a principle, but it is less easy to fathom a clearly perceptible but infinitesimal relaxation of that principle. At any rate, if (as I now accept) Ovid is the author of *Heroides* 16-21, he composed them during or after his work on the *Metamorphoses.* To place them between *Ars* II and *Ars* III is simply a blind guess, and a wrong one.

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[6]Hollis (above, note 2), p. xiii (and on 171).

[7]Syme (above, note 5), p. 20.

[8]*Fast.* V. 582 *fluminibus,* VI. 660 *funeribus; Her.* 16. 288 *pudicitiae;* 17. 16 *superciliis;* 19. 202 *deseruit; Ibis* 506 *Berecyntiades,* 518 *historiae; Tristia* 15 instances (.85%), all quadrisyllables or pentasyllables like I. 3. 6 *Ausoniae* and II. 212 *adulterii; Ex Ponto* 31 instances (1.94%), of similar type (except for I. 1. 66 *non faciet;* I. 6. 26 *scelus est;* I. 8. 40

To return to Ovid's poetic career. It is A.D. 2. The elder Julia is languishing in exile, and the poet, having exhausted erotic elegy, turns to new literary endeavors. Over the next several years he is busied with the composition (which to some extent must have overlapped) of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*. Certainly he had not completed the latter work when in A.D. 8 (a date on which all agree) the blow fell.

Ovid's relegation

In *Pont.* II. 3, written to his close friend Cotta Maximus several years afterwards, he relives the awful memory of that occasion. He was staying with his friend on the island of Elba when a messenger arrived bringing Ovid a summons back to Rome, probably — though this is not quite certain — to face Augustus in person. Ovid at once knew that he was in deep trouble, and at first denied the charge to Cotta; but his fear at what awaited him in Rome, and his eagerness to enlist Cotta's active help, soon compelled him to confess that he was implicated. From this passage we can be sure that some recent serious event had occurred and that Ovid had a sufficiently guilty conscience to refer to his part in it as *culpae mala fama meae* "the ill-repute of my sin" (v. 86).

Clearly this something was not the publication of the *Ars Amatoria* a decade earlier. There is no suggestion in Ovid's account that he was astonished at the charge, no suggestion that he was unjustly or erroneously accused, no suggestion that he had only involuntarily witnessed the crime of another or others. Indeed, earlier in the poem he recalls that Cotta's anger with him was as intense as Augustus's. But Cotta's anger, so he alleges, gradually subsided, and, with growing feelings of sympathy, he pondered the possibility of Ovid's being pardoned as a first offender. Although the poet is careful not to give the slightest clue to the nature of the charge (except that it must have been serious), he has admitted that he was guilty.

Back in Rome, Ovid seems to have appeared before Augustus, who conducted a trial *in camera*. From a remark the poet lets drop (*Trist.* II. 133-34) we gather that he was given a fierce verbal castigation, at the end of which he was commanded to leave the country by a certain date and henceforth to live at Tomis, at the very end, if not of the world, at least of the Roman Empire. The sentence was announced to the public by a special edict (*Trist.* II. 123-38), in which Ovid was not technically exiled, but relegated; this milder punishment softened the blow for the condemned man's family, and enabled him to retain

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liceat; III. 6. 46 *videor,* and IV. 9. 26 *te tegerei*).

his property and his citizenship. His poems were banned from the three public libraries in Rome (*Trist.* III. 1).

The second book of the *Tristia,* which consists of a single poem, provides us with further clues to the cause of his exile. There were two counts, the immorality of the *Ars Amatoria* and an unspecified charge. The latter, which of course must be what provoked the summons delivered to him on Elba, will now engage our chief attention. To a large extent the elaborate defense mounted by Ovid in *Tristia* II must therefore beat the air; still, in it Ovid does say (or rather makes Cupid say) that of the two charges (*carmen et error,* v. 207) it is the *error* which has done him the greater harm. Moreover, the mistake was an affront to Augustus himself: *ultus es offensas, ut decet, ipse tuas* (v. 134).

Ovid tells us that he broke no law (*Pont.* II. 9. 71); he did not murder, poison, forge (*Pont.* II. 9. 67 ff.); nor rebel (*Trist.* II. 51); nor conspire, spread scandal, or commit sacrilege (*Trist.* III. 5. 45 ff.). His error brought harm only upon himself and brought him no profit whatever (*Trist.* III. 6. 34). Several times he insists that his error was to have seen a crime,[9] and here I think we are justified in showing a little skepticism. The poet is misleading us, and misleading us in two ways. His statement suggests he was an involuntary bystander — but we have already heard him admit to Cotta Maximus that he was guilty and from Cotta's reaction guilty of a serious crime. Secondly, the story that he saw a crime suggests a single incident (such absurd and preposterous notions that Ovid saw Livia in the nude or Augustus committing an indecent act[10] illustrate — by suggesting a single occasion — the kind of impression that Ovid would have us form). And yet this would seem to be incorrect. In *Trist.* IV. 4 he says: "Even this fault which has ruined me you will deny to be a crime, if you should come to know the whole course of this great evil (*si tanti series sit tibi nota mali,* v. 38)." So the evil of which Ovid is guilty was not committed on one occasion, but had some development, some history.

One last point before we consider possible explanations: can we determine *why* Ovid had to keep silent about his error? Remember that his defense of the *Ars Amatoria* in *Tristia* II. 207 ff. left unanswered the second charge:

Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,
  alterius facti culpa silenda mihi:
nam non sum tanti, renovem ut tua vulnera, Caesar,
  quem nimio plus est indoluisse semel. (vv. 207-10)

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[9] For example *Trist.* II. 103; III. 5. 49-50.

[10] See Thibault (above, note 1), pp. 73-74; 68 ff.

> Though two crimes, a poem and a mistake, have ruined me,
>   of my fault in one of them I must keep silent,
> for I am not worth enough to re-open your wounds, Caesar:
>   for you to have been pained once is once too often.

I have tried earlier to demolish the possible argument that Ovid was in sole or virtually sole possession of some secret. When he said that all Rome knew, he was doubtless exaggerating, but for all his professions of silence over the matter, his poems reveal that at least six of his correspondents knew the details: his wife (*Pont.* III. 1. 147), Messalinus (*Pont.* II. 2. 55-56), Cotta Maximus (*Pont.* II. 3. 85 ff.), Graecinus (*Pont.* II. 6. 5-12), Sextus Pompeius (*Pont.* IV. 15. 25-26), and Fabius Maximus (*Pont.* I. 2. 144). It is hard to credit that knowledge of Ovid's crime was limited to these six persons, harder still to believe that they all held their tongues. Moreover, this is merely to enumerate those who learned the details from Ovid. Augustus on his side will have discussed the affair with his advisers.

We must not forget that the *error* had inflicted pain on Augustus personally; and failing some personal involvement of Ovid with Augustus (which seems not remotely indicated), the only feasible explanation is that some member of Augustus's family was concerned. In confirmation of this we read at *Tristia* III. 4. 1 ff.: "O you who were ever dear to me, but whom I came best to know in the evil hour when my fortunes collapsed, if you trust in aught a friend who has been schooled by experience, live for yourself and flee afar from great names (*vive tibi, et longe nomina magna fuge*)!" So Ovid's connection with great names, that is someone close to Augustus, has led to the collapse of his fortunes.

Turn we now to some members of Augustus's family. His daughter Julia (who had been exiled in 2 B.C.) had by her marriage to Agrippa five children. These had been taken into the house of Augustus and brought up very much as his own: the two eldest, Gaius and Lucius, had been chosen to mark out the line of succession to the principate in preference to Augustus's stepson Tiberius (a matter which keenly rankled with him and largely induced his retirement to Rhodes). But herein Augustus was unlucky, or maybe he pushed the two young men too hard. At any rate they met premature deaths in foreign service. Julia's other children were a daughter of the same name (the Younger Julia), another daughter Agrippina, and a son born a few months after his father's death and appropriately named Agrippa Postumus. On Gaius's death in A.D. 4 Augustus reluctantly abandoned hope of a Julian successor, for he formally adopted Tiberius, making him adopt in turn his nephew Germanicus, thereby marking out

unmistakably the line of succession. Agrippa Postumus was also adopted by Augustus, but without any of those extra marks of favor which might insinuate preferment over Tiberius and Germanicus. And this inferior status Postumus, who was a boy of unruly temper and boorish manners, seems to have resented: he accused his adoptive father of cheating him of his patrimony and kicked up such tantrums that in A.D. 7 Augustus disinherited him and sent him into exile.[11]

The next year (and this of course is A.D. 8, the year of Ovid's relegation) the emperor was further mortified to learn that his granddaughter Julia was no better than her mother: she was convicted of adultery and banished to an island off the coast of Apulia (Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 71). Her lover, Junius Silanus, got off lightly; he went into voluntary exile and was not further molested (*ibid.* III. 24).

Julia's adultery

The coincidence of dates seems too pointed for one to refrain from making a connection. And I shall at last confess that like many others from the eighteenth century onwards I believe that, aided by his wife's distant connection with the empress Livia and by his social prestige as Rome's greatest living poet, Ovid came to know the princess Julia and, in circumstances we cannot now hope to divine, abetted her adultery with Silanus.[12] Possibly he was manipulated: flattered by her recognition of him he may have entertained her and members of her circle until he could no longer hide from himself what his eyes told him. Whether his house was used as a place of assignation or in some other way he acted as a go-between, he remained silent until all had come out and denial of his complicity was futile. The personal wound he inflicted on Augustus is now readily identifiable, and similarly intelligible is the indictment of the *Ars Amatoria*. The poem alone, however much it annoyed Augustus, cannot have been and on Ovid's own statements was not in itself the chief cause:[13] had it been, Augustus possessed sufficient grounds for taking action against Ovid from the moment it was published. But Ovid's personal involvement transformed the paper delinquencies of his poetry into a more actionable offense; and it is easy to imagine Augustus, when he confronted

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[11]Cassius Dio LV. 32. See also Velleius Paterculus 2. 112; Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 3; Suetonius, *Aug.* 65. 4.

[12]The first satisfactory statement was made by Thomas Dyer: "On the Cause of Ovid's Exile," *Classical Museum* 4 (1847), pp. 229-47, still an exemplary account.

[13]As is often alleged, for example by Gaston Boissier, *L'Opposition sous les Césars* (Paris 1875), pp. 112-69, whose explanation of the *error,* however, is sound enough.

Ovid, flying into a rage and accusing him of being a veritable *praeceptor adulterii*. Hence the branding of the poem as well as the banishment of the poet; and, since the instigator of a crime may with justice be held more reprehensible and punished more severely than the actual perpetrator — who, it may be, has merely followed the course advocated to him — we can understand how it is that Augustus treated Ovid so severely and Silanus so lightly. Ovid's reticence about his *error* is also clarified. It would have been in the worst possible taste to expose the sordid details (moreover, he was guilty), and he understandably chose discretion in preference to shaming himself (and shaming Augustus, too). A further point is this: it is not likely that the two counts on which Ovid was condemned were unrelated. If, possessing absolute power, you are minded to inflict summary punishment on a man who has mortally offended you, it hardly makes sense to charge him, for example, with (*a*) running away with your wife and (*b*) poisoning your cat ten years earlier. Why mention the second charge at all? On the other hand, had the villain been generally known to have seduced your sister ten years earlier, you might well feel that the addition of that as a second charge would in the public's eyes intensify and further establish his culpability on the first. In two words: if the earlier was the real charge, Augustus would have acted earlier; if it was irrelevant and hence powerless to sustain the *crimen erroris,* Ovid would have contrived to apprise us of the fact.

Syme has several times[14] suggested that the adultery alleged against the younger Julia is fabricated and conceals a political motive; and it is true that the only alternative theory to merit consideration sees Ovid as an unfortunate victim, caught up in a web of intrigue whereby some Julian faction aimed to supplant the Claudians. Immoral conduct is normally alleged, Syme remarks,[15] to disguise a political offense.

I venture to question this unsupported line of speculation. It seems highly improbable that Augustus ever flung an ill-founded charge of adultery at a carrier of his own blood. Not only was he obsessed with the desire of establishing a Julian dynasty, but he repeatedly attempted legislation to invigorate the aristocracy by stabilizing family life and sexual morality: the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* and the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* both of 18 B.C. were carefully planned measures, and the former act was sufficiently rigorous to compel the mitigation of some of its clauses in the *Lex Papia Poppaea* of A.D. 9.

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[14]For example *Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939), p. 432; *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) II, p. 404 and n. 1.

[15]Syme (above, note 5), p. 219.

Moreover, in all royal houses, adultery is a very ugly word, and adultery by a female in the direct line of succession is tantamount to treason. In the free and permissive world in which we live it is exceedingly difficult for us to accept double standards of conduct. But that absolute compliance with tradition is required in the house of a hereditary ruler where the line of succession is or may be affected holds true even today. The British Empire was shaken to its foundations when King Edward VIII desired to marry a divorced woman, and Princess Margaret in similar circumstances had to forfeit her personal happiness not many years later, although at about the same time the divorce and re-marriage of the Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, barely made the front page of the newspapers. A recent scandal in Saudi Arabia reinforces the point. A fictionalized version of the incident was televised in Britain and the United States in 1980 and caused diplomatic tempers to flare. The actual events took place three years earlier and concern a Saudi princess, she too a granddaughter, in fact of Mohammed ibn Abdel-Aziz, King Khalid's elder brother and one of the most powerful members of the Saudi royal family. This unhappy modern Julia had been married to Saudi princes and was divorced twice. After leaving Saudi Arabia for Lebanon she studied at the American University of Beirut, where she met her lover. Upon her return to Saudi Arabia, her request to marry him was refused; she was accused and convicted of adultery with a commoner; and on the orders of her grandfather she was executed by a firing squad, whilst her lover was beheaded in a public square.[16]

The conspiracy theory

Let us now look at the alternative theory of conspiracy, which has a number of variations. It is favored by S. G. Owen (in the introduction to his edition of *Tristia* II), Syme, and many others. But there are two sponsors of it who deserve special mention.

The first is the former British poet laureate, John Masefield. In his long poem *A Letter from Pontus* (1936) the narrator is a junior officer on a legate's staff who, on a visit to Tomis, meets Ovid and brings back a letter from him giving his version of the facts: he had found himself in Caesar's palace directing a production of his *Medea;* the leading roles were played by Julia and Silanus, her lover, as Ovid was shocked to discover; hardly had he made the further discovery of a plot to secure the succession for Agrippa Postumus when, now that he was implicated, the plot was betrayed; the rest we know. Frances

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[16]Condensed from *The New York Times*, April 24 (7:1) and April 25 (15:1), 1980.

Norwood's version[17] has no place for the *Medea,* but she too takes a rash leap into the sea of conjecture by having Julia, in scheming for Postumus's return, actually visit him in exile, improbably escorted thither by Ovid, who was brought in under cover of instructing Postumus in literary appreciation. From this implausible *point de départ* she constructs a basis for Ovid's being charged with the immorality of the *Ars Amatoria.*

A new hypothesis of Syme's connects the downfall not only of Julia and Silanus, and of Ovid, but of Julia's husband as well: they were all implicated in a grand conspiracy in A.D. 8.[18] Let us pass over the consideration that in that case adultery was not a plausible charge to trump up against Julia. Still, Syme is right to insist that, since she was accused of adultery, her husband, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, must still have been alive. He is said by Suetonius to have conspired against Augustus and by a garbled scholium on Juvenal (VI. 158) to have been executed for it. But the date of his execution is unspecified; moreover, chronological complications arise from an inscription seemingly fixing his death in A.D. 14 — from which Syme concludes that in A.D. 8 he was not executed at all but simply exiled like Julia and her lover and Ovid.

But it is far from clear that Paullus's downfall is to be assigned to A.D. 8 anyway: this is pure surmise on the part of Syme. On the contrary the Juvenal scholium strongly implies that his punishment preceded Julia's exile, and since in Suetonius (*Aug.* 19) his treason is linked with that of Plautius Rufus, generally identified with the Publius Rufus who in A.D. 6 conspired against Augustus (Dio LV. 27. 2), A.D. 6 would seem to be the date indicated for it. And considerable plausibility is given this view by the arguments of T. D. Barnes,[19] who emphasizes the significance of Augustus's refusal to allow the exiled Julia to rear the child with whom she was pregnant:[20] Augustus plainly believed the child to have been illegitimately conceived, hence the charge of adultery was no false accusation; and this, in turn, means that Julia's husband, Paullus, had long been absent from Rome; finally, it was probably the pregnancy, the visible sign of Julia's condition, hardly to be concealed from the public gaze, that caused the whole scandal to explode.

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[17]Frances Norwood, "The Riddle of Ovid's *Relegatio,*" *Classical Philology* 58 (1963), pp. 150-63.

[18]Syme (above, note 5), pp. 208 ff.

[19]T. D. Barnes, "Julia's Child," *Phoenix* 35 (1981), pp. 362-63.

[20]Suetonius, *Aug.* 65. 4: *Ex nepte Iulia post damnationem editum infantem agnosci alique vetuit.*

Ovid must have known of Julia's pregnancy when he visited Cotta
Maximus on Elba, for his statements in *Trist.* IV. 4 and *Pont.* II. 3 con-
stitute a frank acknowledgment of complicity over a period, irreconcil-
able with opinions that his mistake was "probably trivial enough"[21] or
that all he did was to "attend a party where Julia enjoyed herself with
her lover."[22]

Junius Silanus

It is sometimes urged that Ovid's involvement in a pro-Julian plot
would better explain the fate of Julia's lover, Junius Silanus. He was,
it will be remembered, allowed to go into voluntary exile (and not com-
pelled, like Ovid, to make some distant part of barbary his permanent
abode). Furthermore, on Tiberius's accession, his brother Marcus was
able to plead, and plead successfully, for his recall. Here certainly is a
difference, but surely one capable of being accounted for.[23] Augustus's
special animosity against Ovid is adequately explained by the latter's
immoral verse and the pander's role he played, and it may well have
been kept alive by his perpetual whining, whereas Silanus, for all his
adultery, had the sense to accept exile and keep quiet. By Tiberius's
accession, however, Silanus's position had altered: the new emperor
had no grudge against him, for after all he had been the means of dis-
gracing and banishing one of the Julian blood and consequentially
securing his own succession. Ovid's position had not similarly
improved: his poems convict him of being a corrupter, and there is no
reason to believe Tiberius took a different view from Augustus.

It is often urged that Ovid's crime was somehow a crime against
Tiberius or Livia, and that he knew that the moment Augustus died his
cause was lost. At first sight this view might seem to draw support
from *Pont.* IV. 6. 15-16 "Augustus had begun to pardon the fault I
committed unintentionally; but he has deserted at once my hopes and
the world (*spem nostram terras deseruitque simul*)." But only at first
sight. This is simply a conventional expression of grief at the death of
the emperor, and is naturally heightened by the hypothesis (for which
there is not a scrap of evidence) that Augustus was on the point of par-
doning him. True, Ovid ceases petitioning soon after Tiberius's acces-
sion; but the fact is that he ceases to write altogether about this time.
We have nothing of his for the last two or three years of his life and
cannot dismiss the possibility that he was incapacitated by a terminal

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[21]Syme, *Roman Revolution,* p. 468.

[22]Barnes (above, note 19), p. 363.

[23]Cf. Dyer (above, note 12), p. 246.

illness.

But the *coup de grâce* to the conspiracy theory is dealt by Ovid's denial of it. "I am not accused of following rebellious arms" (*Trist.* II. 51) and "Caesar's life was not sought by me in an attempt to overturn the world" (*Trist.* III. 5. 45) are excuses confidently offered in mitigation of some other charge, and that charge, therefore, cannot be conspiracy.

Causa peroratast. Let me conclude at the point from which I started. I prefer as more likely to approximate to the truth the theory which is based on the natural interpretation of the evidence. Julia being exiled for adultery, I shrink from arguing that she was really exiled for something else; and if Ovid was exiled jointly for writing the *Ars Amatoria* and for committing a transgression, again I seek to explain his exile in terms of that joint indictment. Nevertheless, confident as I am of the correctness of the explanation here put forward, I realize that for many it will leave the mystery of Ovid's exile mysterious still, presenting the classical detective with an unsolved puzzle as fresh and challenging as ever.

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11

The Text of St. Prosper's *De Providentia Dei*

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH

Carmen de Providentia Dei (972 lines) is an inspired, learned, elaborate and important Christian ethical poem, written in Gaul ca. A.D. 416. The theme of Divine Providence was suggested by a contemporary catastrophe: for ten years Gaul had been suffering from the devastation inflicted by the Vandals and Goths (*caede decenni / Vandalicis gladiis sternimur et Geticis,* 33 f.). Now, in his Proem, consisting of 48 elegiac couplets, the poet gives the floor to some anonymous contemporary "unbelievers" (*infida corda,* 90), who question God's care for mankind, among other arguments, on the ground that so many *innocent* people — children, virgins, widows, hermits and priests — have been suffering death, violence and slavery at the hands of the barbarian Vandals and Goths (39-60). In addition, the entire history of mankind witnesses to the fact that the unjust and wicked, far from being punished, always have been prosperous and rewarded (63-86).

Consequently, the poet feels it his (pastoral ?) duty to embark on an extensive, learned and elaborate philosophical refutation of these and similar charges against Divine Providence (98-896), while forcefully arguing that the Creator *does* care for his Creation — and most especially for his "image and likeness," Man — as has been sufficiently manifested by the incarnation of the redeeming Logos, Christ.[1]

In a kind of ring-composition, the poet returns to contemporary Gaul in his Conclusion (897-972): within his Providence, God sends

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[1] Compare *De Prov.* 464-66 *(Christus) miscetur conditioni / humanae et Verbum caro fit rerumque Creator / nascitur;* 492-93 *Sed novus e caelis per sacrae Virginis alvum / natus homo est;* to Prosper *De ingr.* 891-92 *Verbum homo fit rerumque Sator sub conditione / servilis formae dignatur Virgine nasci.* Incidentally, compare *De Prov.* 519 *Iustitia* (i.e., *Christus) iniustis cedit, Sapientia brutis,* to *De ingr.* 894-95 *Sapientia ludificatur, / Iustitia iniustos tolerat;* and *De Prov.* 480-81 *morsque subactum* [sc. *me*] */ detinet,* to *De ingr.* 531-32 *morsque subactum / detineat.*

suffering to mankind either to correct sinners or to put true Christians
to a test. The poet's final appeal to his plaintive Gallic compatriots is
both emotional and inspiring:

    913   At tu, qui squalidos agros desertaque defles
           atria et exustae proscenia diruta villae,
    915   nonne magis propriis posses lacrimas dare damnis,
           si potius vastata tui penetralia cordis[2]
           inspiceres multaque obtectum sorde decorem
           grassantesque hostes captivae mentis in arce?...
    925   Hos igitur cineres templorum, haec busta potentum,
           quae congesta iacent populati cordis in aula,[3]
           plangamus, captiva manus! Nos splendida quondam
           vasa Dei, nos almae arae et sacraria Christi,
           in quibus argentum eloquii, virtutis et aurum,
    930   et sceptrum captum est crucis, et diadema decoris.

   The authorship of the *De Providentia* is controversial. In the best
monograph dedicated to the poem so far, M. P. McHugh (1964) states:
"The weight of opinion remains against ascribing authorship to
Prosper."[4] Nevertheless, I would tentatively side with Max Manitius
(1888-1891),[5] Abbé L. Valentin (1900),[6] and Rudolf Helm (1957),[7] in
believing that the author of our poem is the young Prosper of Aqui-
taine. My reasoning is as follows. In view of the striking coincidences
between *De Providentia* and the works known to be by St. Prosper
(especially his poem *De ingratis*),[8] there can be little doubt that the
author of *De ingratis* (composed ca. A.D. 429-430) had made use of *De
Providentia* (composed ca. A.D. 416). Now, I think that an author of the

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[2] Cf. Prudentius *Hamartigenia* 543 *cordis penetralia*.

[3] Cf. Prosper *De ingr.* 375 *cordis in aula*. Compare also *De Prov.* 971-72 *ab alvo /
cordis* ("from the depths of the heart") to *De ingr.* 582 *cordis in alvo*; *De Prov.* 941 *sed si
quis superest animi vigor*, to *De ingr.* 584 *hinc animi vigor obtusus; senex* ("bishop") at *De
Prov.* 59 = *De ingr.* 187.

[4] *The Carmen de Providentia Dei Attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine: A Revised Text With
an Introduction, Translation, and Notes.* (Diss. The Catholic University of America, Patris-
tic Studies, XCVIII, Washington, D.C., 1964), p. 18; cf. p. 17 n. 37.

[5] *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 39 (1888), pp. 580-84; *SB Wien,
Philos.-hist. Classe* 117 (1889), XII, pp. 20 ff.; 121 (1890), VII, p. 14; *Geschichte der
christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1891), pp. 171-80.

[6] *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine, étude sur la littérature latine ecclésiastique au Ve siècle en
Gaule* (Thèse Bordeaux, Toulouse-Paris 1900).

[7] *RE* 23 (1957), pp. 884-87, s.v. Prosper Tiro.

[8] Such as, e.g., this one: *De Prov.* 880-81 *cumque Deus medicam caelo demittere curam
/ dignatur penitusque putres abscindere fibras...* against Prosper *Epigrammata* 42. 9-10 *Inque
putres fibras descendat cura medentis, / ut blandum morbum pellat amica salus* (pointed out by
Manitius in 1890; compare also his *Geschichte*, p. 171 nn. 2-3).

renown of St. Prosper simply could not have borrowed so freely from a *contemporary* compatriot poet from Gaul without running the risk of being exposed as a plagiarist. The most likely assumption then is that St. Prosper is the author of both poems.

As for the alleged Pelagianism (attested in written form since A.D. 412) in *De Providentia,*[9] if it is present at all, it is best explained by Prosper's early stage of theological development — in contrast to his anti-Pelagian Augustinianism, expressed in his *Epistola ad Rufinum* and especially in his *De ingratis* (1002 lines), some ten to thirteen years later (A.D. 426-430): compare the similar intellectual evolution of his great model, St. Augustine.

In any case, Hincmar of Rheims, who in the ninth century quotes a total of 78 lines from *De Providentia,* knows the work as belonging to St. Prosper.[10] So do the *editio princeps* of our poem (along with the *Opera* of St. Prosper),[11] and the only extant manuscript-fragment of the poem, *Cod. Mazarinensis* 3896 (ca. 1535).

For the content of the poem, as was to be expected, the author draws heavily on the Old and New Testaments. He also clearly stands under the spell of Virgil, Ovid, and Prudentius, as M. P. McHugh has shown convincingly.[12] The influence of St. Augustine seems still to be minimal.[13]

The present paper, however, is concerned only with *the text* of the poem. There are special reasons for this concern. The manuscripts of *De Providentia* are lost, so that we have to rely on two original editions of the works of St. Prosper — the Lyons edition of 1539 by Sébastien Gryphe, and the Maurist edition of 1711 by J. B. Le Brun des Mariettes and Luc Urbain Mangeant,[14] which has been reprinted by J.-P. Migne,

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[9]Pelagian influence upon the *De Providentia* was first maintained by Jean Soteaux and Jean Hassels, in their Louvain Reprint (1565) of the Lyons edition (1539).

[10]Hincmar of Rheims, *De praedestinatione dissertatio posterior,* in J.-P. Migne, *P.L.* 125, 442 B-C and 445 A-D. Hincmar quotes *De Prov.* 219-40 (omitting by mistake 221 *quo plus* — 222 *suis*); 448-57; 467-72; 497-501 (*et in libro Contra Eutychem*); 550-57 (*et in libro Contra Nestorium*); 651-54 (*et in libro Contra Mathematicos*); 659-63 (*et paulo post*); 777-94 (*et in libro Contra Epicureos*); finally, 951-54 (*et post aliquanta*).

[11]*Divi Prosperi Aquitanici, Episcopi Regiensis, Opera, accurata vetustiorum exemplarium collatione per viros eruditos recognita* (Lyons 1539).

[12]*Op. cit.* (*supra,* n. 4), pp. 24-28; 52-84; 89-100, and in his Commentary pp. 310-83.

[13]Cf. L. Valentin (*supra,* n. 6), pp. 793-97. Compare, e.g., *De Prov.* 460 *namque velut speculum mens est,* to Augustine *Tract. in Ev. Ioannis* 14. 7 *speculum mentis.*

[14]*Sancti Prosperi Aquitanici...Opera* (Paris 1711).

in his *Patrologia Latina* of 1846.[15] The late *Cod. Mazarinensis* 3896, f. 162ʳ-167ᵛ (ca. 1535),[16] comprises a total of 340 lines (out of 972), and is of no value, since it goes back to the exemplar of the Lyons edition. In his 1964 doctoral dissertation, M. P. McHugh exhaustively explored the biblical and poetical sources of *De Providentia*, as well as its diction, style and metrics. His "revised" edition, however, virtually reprints Migne's text and shows little sensitivity to textual criticism.[17] Hence the need for a closer look at the text of this remarkable poem.[18]

*

* *

(1)

1	Maxima pars lapsis abiit iam mensibus anni,
	quo scripta est versu pagina nulla tuo.
	quae tam longa tibi peperere silentia causae?
	quisve dolor maestum comprimit ingenium?
5	quamquam et iam[19] gravibus non absint carmina curis,
	et proprios habeant tristia corda modos;
	ac si te fracti perstringunt vulnera mundi,
	turbatumque una si rate fert pelagus,
	invictum deceat studiis servare vigorem.
10	cur mansura pavent, si ruitura cadunt?

McHugh translates 5 f.: "But let us not be without poems even now in our grievous cares; let our sad hearts find their proper expression." I think this is wrong. 5 *quamquam* implies, "*although* it is normal for a poet to write poetry even in distress," and is employed with subjunctive (5 f. *non absint* and *habeant*) just as at 295 *quamquam...regnaret* and 805 *sed quamquam...servet*. Consequently, verses 3-6 form one single sentence, and we should punctuate as follows: 3 *causae,* 4 *ingenium,* and 6 *modos?* The same concessive force is expressed in 7 *si* against 9 *deceat.* In brief, a poet — and especially a

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[15]*P.L.* 51 (1846 = 1861), 617-38.

[16]The manuscript was first used by M. P. McHugh (cf. his pp. 2 ff.). It contains *De Prov.* 105-520 with the omission of 121-46; 156-74; 191-211; 267-77.

[17]McHugh's only emendation is 426 *gladios destringit* for *distringit* (omnes). In addition, he corrected the misprints of the Maurists or Migne, e.g.: 237 / *vis promat* for the correct *premat;* 377 *si* for *sic;* 633 *quam vim consueverit auris* / (Migne) for *conseverit.* On the other hand, McHugh introduced new misprints: 61 / *verum haec belli* for *verum haec cum belli;* 562 *inter* for *iter.*

[18]I quote the Latin text as printed in McHugh (1964, *supra,* n. 4), while "Gryphius" stands for the Lyons edition of 1539 (*supra,* n. 11), and "the Maurists" for the Paris edition of 1711 (*supra,* n. 14).

[19]The Maurists are right in suggesting *etiam* ("even") for *et iam*.

Christian poet — is expected to preserve his inner peace and compo-
sure, and write poetry even amidst external calamities.

(2)

> 100   Sed quoniam rudibus metus est intrare profundum,
>
> in tenui primum discant procurrere rivo,
>
> qua iacet extremo tellus circumdata ponto,
>
> et qua gens hominum diffusa est corpore mundi.
>
> seu nostros annos, seu tempora prisca revolvas,
>
> 105   esse omnes sensere Deum, nec defuit ulli
>
> Auctorem natura docens; et si impius error
>
> amisit, multis tribuens quod debuit uni,
>
> innatum est cunctis Genitorem agnoscere verum.

First, lines 100-101 comprise one sentence ending with *rivo,*
where a period should be printed: "The masses of uninstructed Chris-
tians are afraid to enter upon the depths of the Holy Scriptures, and
have first to learn to make progress in the shallow stream of the poet's
summary instruction." The same image is employed in the conclusion
of the poem (969-72), where the uninstructed (*rudes*) are advised to
drink from the *fountain* (*fons*) of the poet's small book (*parvus libellus*),
before being able to pour forth entire *rivers* (*ipsi profundent flumina*) of
Christian doctrine.

With verse 102 a new sentence begins, ending with 108 *verum.*
Accordingly, punctuate 103 *mundi,* and understand the sentence 103-08
as expressing the old Stoic (and Epicurean) idea: "Nature has
imprinted the idea (either ἔννοια or πρόληψις) of God in the soul of
every man and people of all times and places." The idea is best
expressed by Cicero *N.D.* 1. 43:

> Solus [sc. Epicurus] enim vidit primum esse deos, quod in omnium
> animis eorum notionem impressisset ipsa natura. Quae est enim
> gens aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat sine doctrina antici-
> pationem quandam deorum...? (Cf. A. S. Pease *ad loc.* and 2. 12;
> *Tusc.* 1. 30; *Legg.* 1. 24.)

Second, verses 102-03 seem to express the idea, "both the
uncivilized savages (*extremo tellus circumdata ponto*) and the civilized
world (*gens hominum diffusa...corpore mundi*)," as is the case, e.g., in
Cicero *Legg.* 1. 24 (...*in hominibus nulla gens est neque tam mansueta
neque tam fera, quae non...deum...habendum sciat*), or in Plato *Legg.* X,
886 a 4 (ὅτι πάντες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι νομίζουσιν εἶναι
θεούς), or else in Clement *Strom.* V. 133. 9. Consequently, we should
probably read 102 *quae...tellus* and 103 *quae gens hominum.* I think *qua*
with *iacet tellus* (102) and *qua* with *corpore mundi* is unconvincing

(Lucan I. 16 ff. is no parallel). For the scribal error *a* for *e* (both written as almost identical in some scripts), compare 403 *quaque gradum illaesae* (Gryphius : *illaesa* Maurists) *tulerant tot milia plebis* and *infra*, Nos. 7 and 8.

Third, in verse 107 read *ammisit* for *amisit*. For, pagan religions did not *lose* entirely the idea of God: they only *became guilty* (or committed the error) of attributing to one part of the Creation — such as the Sun, Stars, Fire, Water — the divine power belonging to the Creator alone. Compare 25 *quo scelere admisso...?* As for the idea, compare 616 *Auctorem et Dominum rerum, non facta, colentes;* Prosper *De ingratis* 879 *et factis haesit, Factore relicto;* and NT *Rom.* 1:25 καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα.

(3)

<blockquote>
147   ...scire datum, quod alit tellus, quod in aequore vivi,
quidquid in arboribus, quidquid variatur in herbis,
in laudem auctoris, certis subsistere causis.
150   at quae sola nocent, eadem collata mederi.
</blockquote>

Read 149 f.: *in laudem Auctoris certis subsistere causis, / et quae....* For, verse 150 is a continuation of the idea from verse 149, "there are *definite* reasons for the creation of every given creature." *Collata* (150), "if brought together," refers to the idea expressed at 134-35, *denique quidquid obest, aut causa aut tempore verso, / prodest,* and reflects Heraclitean ideas — such as, e.g., fr. 44 Marcovich [fr. 111 Diels-Kranz], νοῦσος ὑγιείην ἐποίησεν ἡδὺ καὶ ἀγαθόν, λιμὸς κόρον, κάματος ἀνάπαυσιν, — transmitted through such a Stoic source as Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo*, c. 5.

On the contrary, at 749 *at* should be read for the transmitted *et:*

<blockquote>
747   ...vellesne per omnes
ultricem culpas descendere Iudicis iram?
et quo magnanimi clemens patientia Regis
750   distaret saeva immitis feritate tyranni?
</blockquote>

(4)

<blockquote>
187   ...quam [sc. vim Dei] non effugiant cita, nec[20] remorantia
                                     tardent;
quae numquam ignara, numquam longinqua, nec ullis
translata accedens regionibus, absit ab ullis,
</blockquote>

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[20]187 *non...nec* speaks in favor of the Maurists' reading in 110, *et immensum* [sc. *Deum*] *non saecula nec loca claudunt/,* against Gryphius' *nec...nec*, adopted by McHugh.

190   nec de noscendis egeat manifesta doceri.

The poet speaks of the Divine Omnipresence. He is not free from Stoic influence (see *ad* No. 20). In line 189 *accedens* read *ac cedens*. Incidentally, 190 *manifesta* has the rare sense of "being informed," = *certa*. Compare 911 *manifestus honoris / promissi*, and Ennodius *Epist.* II. 19. 2 *pater de explorata...virtute fili manifestus* (B : *securus* cett.) *Th.L.L.* VIII. 310. 69 f.

(5)

267   Quod si quis non totus homo haec extendere verbis
        me putet, et nondum sese cognovit in istis,
        audiat a primis...

"But if anyone is so dull that he thinks that I am exaggerating these things...," translates McHugh. But, so far as I know, *non totus homo* nowhere means "a dull man." *Quod* ("for"), at the opening of a new paragraph, is not likely either. I think *quod* and *totus* are corruptions of *queis* and *tutus*, respectively: "If anyone, not being convinced (assured) by my previous arguments, thinks...."

The poet employs *queis* for *quibus* at 144, 333, and 286 / *queis*, and the corruption may have been the product of a "redactor" who was annoyed by the phrase, *queis si quis,* and changed it into *quod si quis.* As for the error *totus* for *tutus,* it may have been induced by the vicinity of three *o* vowels: *non totus homo.* Whatever may be the case, the same rhetorical introductory formula is employed by our poet at:

208   ac ne vaniloqui spondere **incerta** putemur,
        res monet a primis aperire....

(6)

300   ...non prius a primi vinclo absolvenda parentis
                    [sc. natura hominis],
        quam maiestate incolumi generatus in ipsa,
        destrueret leti causas et semina Christus,
        cuius perpetuam cunctis assistere curam
        promptum est exemplis ab origine nosse petitis.
305   non latet hanc sanctis onerans altaria sacris
        iustus Abel, qui primitiis ovium grege lectis
        convertit Domini sincera in munera vultum.

A period should be put after 302 *Christus.* 303 *Cuius* refers not to Christ but to God (= 307 *Domini...vultum;* 274 *Domini;* 278 *Deus*). Consequently, a *lacuna* should be indicated between verses 302 and

303. The lost text probably linked God's care for Man to the salvific incarnation of the Son.

(7)

> 308   Nec fallit [sc. Dei curam] specie devota religionis
>   dona Cain reprobanda dicans, cui virus amarum
>   invidia in fratrem succenso felle coquebat.

Read 308 *specie devotae religionis.* Cain only displays a pretence of true religion. Compare 47 *honor...devotae virginitatis.* / For the scribal error *a : e,* compare Nos. 2 and 8.

(8)

> 329   An aberat tum cura Dei, cum effusa per omnes
> 330   gens hominum culpas, penitus pietate relicta,
>   dira toris vetitis generaret monstra gigantas? [*Gen.* 6:4]
>   illa quidem mundi exitium praefata futurum
>   tempora larga dedit, queis in meliora reducti
>   mortales scelerum seriem virtute piarent.

Read in 332 *Ille* (sc. *Deus*) for *illa.* It answers the question of 32 *An aberat tum cura Dei, cum...?* For *ille* referring to God, compare 132 *cum Sator ille;* 175 *ille manet.* The same idea of God's patience with mankind recurs at 350-52.

(9)

> 366   ... dumque piis traducta dolis Hebraea iuventus
>   gaudet adoratum venia cognoscere fratrem.

Using the trick of placing a silver goblet in Benjamin's sack and then forcing his brothers to return to his house, Joseph was able to make himself known to them (*Gen.* 44:1-45:8). They rejoice in recognizing their own lost brother, who proves (*Gen.* 45:5) to possess *the gift of forgiveness* for having been sold in slavery by his own brothers. Consequently, read 367 *ador< n >atum venia...fratrem.*

(10)

> 385   Nam iubet [sc. Deus] electum Pharaoni edicere Mosen,
>   ut sinat Aegypto Domini discedere plebem;
>   ni faciat, multis plectenda superbia plagis,
>   sentiet excitam quae regni vis habet iram.
>   ille quidem quoties patitur caelestia tela,
> 390   cedit, et obsequium simulat....

The Lord commands Moses to tell Pharaoh to let the Hebrews leave Egypt. If he disobeys this order, Egypt will be punished by the ten plagues (*Exodus* 6:10-11; 7:3-4). In verse 388, however, there is a major corruption, as L. Valentin (pp. 830 n. 2; 845) had noticed. The Latin text cannot yield the sense required by McHugh's translation of 387 ff.: "If the king should not do so, many blows would be struck to his pride and he would experience the full force of the sovereign power whose wrath he had aroused."

Now, I would take 387 *superbia* ("Pharaoh's arrogance") to be the subject of 388 *sentiet,* and suggest the following reading:

> 387   ni faciat, multis plectenda superbia plagis
>   sentiet excitam, quam Regis vim habet,[21] iram.

I.e., *sentiet excitam Dei iram, quam vim habet.* Compare *Exodus* 7:5, "...so that the Egyptians may learn that I am *the Lord,* as I stretch out *my hand* against Egypt." Elsewhere in the poem, the author employs the word *regnum* as referring not to the Kingdom of God but to the kingdoms of mortals (234; 356; 447; 809). As for the corruption, *quae...vis,* for the suggested *quam...vim,* either a scribe was confused by the construction (with four accusatives), or he simply mistook the abbreviation q̄ (*quam*) for q̄ (*quae*), with the ensuing makeshift *quae...vis.*

(11)

> 432   Ergo omnes una in vita cum lege creati
>   venimus, et fibris gerimus quae condita libris.

McHugh's translation seems to me nonsensical: "Thus we have all been created in one life together with the law, and in our hearts we carry what is preserved in books." Read: *in vita<m>.* I.e., *Ergo omnes una cum lege creati in vitam venimus,* "All men come to this world being created (by God) to bear in their hearts one single (divine) law." Compare 223, *inque unam coeunt... vitam;* 587 *mundum ingressi.*

(12)

> 439   ...cum tamen et quoscumque eadem sub sacra liceret
> 440   ire, nec externos arcerent limina templi;
>   cumque Dei monitu canerent ventura prophetae,
>   saepe etiam ad varias gentes sint multa locuti.
>   Sic regina Austri cupidis, Salomonis ab ore,

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[21]The monosyllable *vim,* as a "mot à sens plein," is rarely elided in Latin poetry: Jean Soubiran, *L'élision dans la poésie latine* (Paris 1966), p. 402.

auribus eloquium Domini venerata trahebat.
445   Sic Ninive monitis Ionae sub tempore cladis
      credidit...

The doors of the Jewish temple, says the poet, were not closed *to strangers*, and Jewish prophets often spoke to *foreign* peoples as well, such as the Queen of Sheba, the citizens of Nineveh, etc. Now, either both *cum* (439 and 441) are concessive, "although" (*cum tamen...liceret ire, nec...arcerent..., cumque...sint multa locuti*),[22] or the second one is a *cum historicum*, "and whenever" (*cumque...canerent*). Whatever may be the case, the text seems to be corrupt. If the former assumption is true, we should read 441-42:

> cumque Dei monitu ventura canendo[23] prophetae
> saepe etiam ad varias gentes sint multa locuti.

And if the latter is true, then we should correct 442 *sint* into *sunt*. I prefer the latter solution, as being less violent.

(13)

473   Sed tu qui geminam naturam hominisque Deique
      convenisse vides angusti in tramitis ora,
475   firma tene cautus vestigia, ne trepidantem
      alterutram in partem, propellat devius error:
      si cernens operum miracula divinorum,
      suspicias sine carne Deum; cumve omnia nostri
      corporis agnoscas, hominem sine numine credas.

478 *suspicias* Maurists, Migne, McHugh: *suscipias* Cod. Mazarinensis, Gryphius. The latter reading is to be preferred. For, the clause, "It is an error to *accept* (*suscipias*) Christ's divinity without his humanity," corresponds exactly to the opposite error, expressed in the next clause, "to *believe* (479 *credas*) in his humanity without the divinity." *Suscipias* means much the same as *credas*. On the contrary, *suspicias* would mean, "honor, admire" — as at 613-15, *non mare, non caelum, non ignem, aut sidera caeli / ... / suspexere deos* —, which is beside the point here.

It is worth mentioning that Migne (in 1846) makes the same error (or rather misprint) at 947, *aversos revocans et suspiciens conversos*, for

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[22]For the concessive *cum* in *De Prov.*, compare 220-22, *...cumque omnia Verbo / conderet* [sc. *Deus*], *hunc* [sc. *hominem*] *manibus, quo plus Genitoris haberet, / dignatur formare suis*; 556 f., *...et cum recta queas discernere pravis, / deteriora legis*; 635 f., *qui* [sc. *Deus*] *cum sincerus sit fons aequique bonique, / immitem...legem praescripsit*.

[23]*O* in the ablative of the gerund is short in medieval Latin poetry, as in our poet (five times): cf. McHugh (*supra*, n. 4), pp. 188; 186 n. 20; 187 n. 21.

the correct *suscipiens.*

(14)

> 484   cuius [sc. Christi] maiestas stabilis non hoc violatur,
> 485   quo redimor; neque se minor est, cum mutor in illo.

Valentin's emendation of *in illo* into *in illum* should be accepted in view of 206-07:

> nota via est, Christo cunctis reserante magistro,
> qui vocat, et secum nos deducturus, et **in se...**

or of 966-67, *ut non humanis fidens homo, totus in illum* [sc. *Christum*] / *se referat.*

(15)

> 555   "Cur volo quae mala sunt, et cur quae sunt bona nolo?"
> liber es; sed cum recta queas discernere pravis,
> deteriora legis, placitisque improvidus haeres.

556 *liber es; sed* is unmetrical. Hincmar of Rheims (IX century), however, our oldest witness for the text of the poem (see note 10), has *liber es, et cum,* and that is the correct reading: *esset* (or *essed*) for *eset* is an easy scribal error. Gryphius' *libere sed* is a makeshift.

(16)

> 587   Sed mundum ingressi variis rerum speciebus
> suscipimur, mentemque adeunt quaecumque videntur,
> iudicio censenda hominis...
> 597   Magno ergo haec homini sunt discernenda periclo,
> ne nimium trepidus nullum procedat in aequor,
> neu vagus effusis sine lege feratur habenis.
> 600   Est etenim sanctus rerum usus, quem cohibentes
> intra modum numeri, et momentum ponderis aequi,
> pro cunctis soli Domino reddemus honorem.

Read in 602 *reddamus* (and compare 596 *iudicio censenda;* 597 *sunt discernenda*): Man *must* pay honor to God, no matter whether he exercises good judgment and shows moderation or not. For the scribal error *e : a,* compare ad Nos. 2, 7, 8. McHugh's translation seems to me wrong: "... and if we keep our use of them [sc. things] within the bounds of moderation and observe a true balance, then we shall return honor to God alone for everything."

(17)

624   Sed quo te praeceps rapit orbita? vis bonus esse
625   absque labore tuo? credis hoc cedere posse,
        si tibi mutentur natalia sidera, quorum
        te pravum decursus agit?...[*Contra Mathematicos*]

625 *credis hoc:* versus claudicat. Read: *credis< que> hoc.*

(18)

665   Cumque haec intus [sc. homine] agi prospexit
                callidus hostis [i.e., Satan],
        de studiis vestris vires capit, utque Parentis
        avertat veri cultum, persuadet ab astris
        fata seri, frustraque homines contendere divis.

666 *vestris:* read *nostris,* and compare 658-60, *Verum si quid obest virtuti,... / non superi pariunt ignes,... / sed nostris oritur de cordibus;* 661, *et quatimur civilibus armis /* ("we are battered by internal strife").

(19)

689   Nullum ergo in nos est permissum ius elementis
690   in quae ius hominis; nec possunt condere legem,
        quae legem accipiunt.

Read in 690: *in quae < est> ius hominis.*

(20)

729   Quid usquam
730   dissidet a prisco divisum foedere rerum?
        Sic interiecta solis revocatur in ortum
        nocte dies, idem est lunae astrorumque recursus,
        et relegunt notas subeuntia tempora metas;
        non aliter venti spirant, ita nubibus imber;
735   laeta negant, servantque genus trudentia flores
        semina quaeque suum; nec abest ab origine rerum
        ordo manens, isdem subsistunt omnia causis.
        Quae nisi perpetui solers prudentia Regis
        astrueret, molemque omnem spirando foveret,
740   conciderent subita in nihilum redigenda ruina.

As Valentin (p. 830 n. 2) pointed out, line 735 is corrupt, and McHugh (p. 362 f.) is not convincing when defending the text as transmitted while translating: "Flowers withhold their joyous seeds and preserve them, so that each burgeons into its own kind."

The sense, however, can be restored at a minimal palaeographic cost, by reading *leta* for *laeta*. Construe: *Semina negant leta servantque genus quaeque suum trudentia flores,* "Seeds refuse to die, and by sending forth flowers they preserve each its own kind." For the plural *leta* ("death") in Christian poetry, compare *Inscr. Christ.* Rossi II, p. 71. 40a. 17, *hic novus antiquum iecit ad leta draconem;* II, p. 296. 10. 2 (*Th.L.L.* VII. 1190. 19, 1191. 51).

Incidentally, it is worth mentioning that in the idea of verse 739 — *molemque omnem spirando foveret,* God preserves the entire mass of the universe by constantly fostering it with his *spirit* — our poet seems to combine the Stoic Πνευματικὸς Λόγος with *Genesis* 1:1 καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. If my assumption is correct, then he is only following the trend first established by Theophilus of Antioch (ca. A.D. 180), who evidently combines *Genesis* 1:1 with the Stoic "all-pervading spirit": *Ad Autolycum* 2. 4, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ τὸ δι' ὅλου κεχωρηκὸς πνεῦμα θεὸν δογματίζουσιν. 2. 13, πνεῦμα δέ, "τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος," ... ὅπως τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα τρέφῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σὺν τῷ πνεύματι τρέφῃ τὴν κτίσιν διικνούμενον πανταχόσε.[24]

The same Stoic "all-pervading spirit" (πνεῦμα διῆκον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου) is detectable at *De Prov.* 183-84:

> Sed nusquam non esse Dei est, qui totus ubique,
> et penetrat mundi membra omnia liber et ambit...

or at 450, *neve quod in parte est, in toto quis neget esse,*[25] and elsewhere.

(21)

755   Sic mundi meta abruptis properata fuisset
        temporibus, neque in subolem generanda veniret
        posteritas, pariter cum iustos atque nocentes
        aut promissus honos aut poena auferret ab orbe.

756 *neque* is unmetrical (compare verse 485, quoted at No. 14). Read: *nec <iam> in subolem,* and compare 503 f. *nec... / iam;* 543 f. *nec iam diversa, sed unum / sunt duo.* For the elision of *iam,* compare 767-68: *ut quondam fecere, colens, iam errore parentum / abiecto....Iam* was

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[24]On this passage compare M. Marcovich, *ICS* 4 (1979), pp. 79 ff. (No. 23).

[25]In his account of the creation of the universe (113-29), and of man (212-23), our poet is strongly dependent on Ovid *Metam.* I. 7-9; 15-20, and I. 69-86, respectively, as Manitius [*supra,* n. 5 (1888), pp. 581 ff., and (1891), pp. 173 n. 1; 174 n. 1] and Valentin (894) had pointed out (cf. McHugh 69-72). Ovid's cosmogony is eclectic, but clear traces of Posidonius' *Stoicism* are detectable: compare Franz Bömer's Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I-III (Heidelberg 1969), pp. 15 ff. (with excellent literature).

mistakenly dropped in the cluster, *nec iam in.*

(22)

> 791   At qui persistunt errori incumbere longo,
>   quamvis in multis vitiis impune senescant,
>   in saevum finem venient; ibi non erit ulla
>   spes veniae, minimo ad poenam quadrante vocando.

793 *in saevum finem venient, ubi* would be better Latin, and that is exactly what we read in Hincmar of Rheims (IX century). There can be little doubt that *saevus finis* refers to the Last Judgment, as it becomes clear from the phrase of 794, *minimo ad poenam quadrante vocando,* where "the last farthing" clearly alludes to NT *Matthew* 5:26, ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἕως ἂν ἀποδῷς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.

(23)

> 795   Nos etenim quoties causa quacumque movemur,
>   vindictam celerem cupimus, quia rara facultas
>   non patitur laesis tempus transire nocendi.

Read in 797 *laesos* (accusative with infinitive after *patitur*): "The rare opportunity does not allow the victims of a wrongdoing to miss their chance of doing harm." Compare 375, *iusti patiantur iniquos;* 820, *sic iniustorum iustos mala ferre necesse est.*

(24)

> 833   Et per inane piis gradus est: cibus alite serva
>   suggeritur, perditque avidus sua fercula messor.

An angel of God carried the prophet Habakkuk by his hair through the air all the way to Babylon, to bring the lunch (originally prepared for Habakkuk's reapers in the field) to Daniel in his den (*Daniel* 14:33-39). Now, Habakkuk, as a male, was a "winged servant" (*ales servus*). Consequently, read in 833 *servo* for *serva* (induced by the feminine noun *ales*).

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12

Some Aesopic Fables

in Byzantium and the Latin West

Tradition, Diffusion, and Survival[1]

JOHN-THEOPHANES A. PAPADEMETRIOU

In an interesting paper on Byzantine folktales, beast-fables, and face- tious stories the late distinguished student of Byzantine private and public life Ph. I. Koukoules presented five Aesopic[2] fables (on pp. 223- 25), which are narrated by various Byzantine authors. The material presented by Koukoules invites further study from several points of view. Our primary concern will be to study the relation of these fables with the Greek and Latin fable tradition, their diffusion, and when relevant their survival, chiefly in Modern Greek folklore. In the pro- cess of this investigation we shall have occasion to explore a few more fables, proverbs and "fable-proverbs."[3]

The first fable is culled from an oration of Nicephoros Chryso- verges.[4] Koukoules identifies the fable correctly with no. 361,

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[1]In addition to the standard abbreviations of Journal titles (see *L'année philologique*) those used most frequently are listed at the end of this study.

[2]The term "Aesopic" is used to indicate all fables that have the same characteris- tics as those attributed to Aesop, whether they have reached us under Aesop's name or not. In contrast, the term "Aesopian" is reserved for fables which have come down to us under Aesop's name.

[3]I am translating thus the Mod. Greek term "παροιμιόμυθος," coined by D. Loukatos to describe the type of proverb that puts a fable or other folk-narrative in cap- sule form. See Δ. Σ. Λουκάτος, Νεοελληνικοὶ Παροιμιόμυθοι, 1st reprint (actually second edition with substantial additions), Athens 1978, pp. ιθ′ - κ′.

[4]See M. Treu, *Nicephori Chrysovergae ad Angelos orationes tres* (*Program des Königl. Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau*, II. *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlung*), Breslau 1892, *Orat.* I, p. 5, 12-31.

"Πίθηκοι πόλιν οἰκίζοντες," in Halm's edition (= Perry 464, Coraës 367) and cites it in its entirety. The fable as narrated by Chrysoverges is about four times longer and displays much rhetorical adornment in comparison with the short and simple text printed in the fable editions mentioned above. It is remarkable, however, that, though verbiage abounds, no new narrative element is introduced into the fable. Koukoules does not note that the same fable was printed earlier by two other scholars independently, Sp. Lambros and S. Eustratiades. Lambros found the fable outside the manuscript fable collections, namely, in codex *Monacensis Graecus* 201, fol. 61 (dated to the 14th century by Lambros, but to the 13th by Ign. Hardt[5]), but he in turn did not connect it with the fable in Chrysoverges, and edited it in 1910 as an anonymous text.[6] The version edited by Lambros, however, was composed by Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus[7] (see next note). In the same year, S. Eustratiades edited the fables composed by Gregory on the basis of a single but complete manuscript.[8] In Gregory's version the text of the fable has again undergone rhetorical expansion and adornment, but its wording is independent of the text of Chrysoverges. This is another example of the widespread habit of expansion and adornment of the text which is characteristic of the later Byzantine versions of fables.[9]

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[5] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae,* vol. 2, Munich 1806, p. 336.

[6] See Σπ. Π. Λάμπρου, "Συλλογαὶ Αἰσωπείων μίθων," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 7 (1910), pp. 49-74 (especially pp. 53 and 73-74 for this fable). In the same study (pp. 54-59) Lambros also edits fifteen fables found in codex 268 of the Dionysiou monastery (dated to the 15th century; see pp. 49-50 and also Σπ. Π. Λάμπρου, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, vol. 1, Cambridge 1895, no. 3802). Since Lambros was not able to identify all the fables, he supposed that four of them "are entirely new and are not found in all the other collections." In fact those four fables as well as the remaining eleven come from the fables (Παραδειγματικοὶ λόγοι) of Syntipas; see Perry, pp. 527-28.

[7] It is strange that Lambros was not able to identify the author of this fable and the next one (see immediately below), because it is clear from Hardt's *Catalogus,* p. 339, that in the codex itself the fables are attributed to Patriarch Gregory; the information provided by the codex is repeated by Hardt in his description of it.

[8] See Σ. Εὐστρατιάδου, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου, ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μῦθοι, Alexandria 1910, pp. 216-17, no. 4. Eustratiades' edition is based on codex *Vindobonensis philologicus Graecus* 195, fols. 85/1ʳ - 93ᵛ; see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek,* I, Wien 1961, p. 306.

[9] Concerning this tendency of the Byzantines see J.-Th. A. Papademetriou, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Stephanites kai Ichnelates* (Ph.D. dissertation), Urbana, Illinois, 1960, p. 177.

It should be noted that this fable is found also in Syriac and Latin versions. It is incorporated into the Syriac version of the *Fables of Sinbad*[10] and it was translated into Latin by Priscian.[11] Finally, the editors of the Aesopic fables[12] relied on only one Greek source, namely, Hermogenes,[13] but did not note its presence in the Byzantine authors mentioned above, who are about ten centuries later than Hermogenes. In the motif-indices, on the other hand, the motif of the fable is noted,[14] but there is no direct or indirect reference to the above mentioned versions (Byzantine, Syriac and the Latin translation).

On the same page of the Munich codex, another fable of Gregory of Cyprus is included[15] (= Perry 83: Πίθηκος καὶ κάμηλος ὀρχούμενοι,[16] Chambry 307, Hausrath/Hunger 85). Its text displays again the same features noted in the other Byzantine fable (= Perry 464). Lambros has also edited this fable (pp. 72-73) as an anonymous text.[17]

The second fable in Koukoules' study comes from the *Commentarii* on the *Odyssey,* p. 1769 (not 1679), by the celebrated Archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonike. The text cited by Koukoules is brief and runs as follows: πίθηκος ἤει θηρίων ἀποκριθεὶς μοῦνος ἀν' ἐσχατιὴν τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλέη συνήντετο πυκινὸν ἔχουσα νόον. With some reservations (p. 224) Koukoules identifies the text with Aesop's fable Halm 43 (= Perry 14: Ἀλώπηξ καὶ πίθηκος περὶ εὐγενείας ἐρίζοντες,[18] Chambry 39, Hausrath/Hunger 14, = Babrius

[10]See the list of the Syriac codices of the fables of Syntipas in Perry, p. 526.

[11]See Prisciani, *Praeexercitamina, de Fabula* 3, ed. by M. Hertz in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini,* vol. 3, Leipzig 1859 (photo-reprint 1961), p. 430 and Coraës, p. 439. Priscian drew on Hermogenes (see below, note 13).

[12]Perry, Halm and Coraës. The fable is not included in the editions of Chambry and of Hausrath/Hunger.

[13]Προγυμνάσματα 1 (Περὶ μίθου), pp. 2,14 - 3,4, ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenes,* Leipzig 1913 (photo-reprint, Stuttgart 1969).

[14]See Thompson, J648.1. and Wienert, pp. 61 (ET 240) and 108 (ST 200).

[15]Fable 10 in the edition of S. Eustratiades, p. 221.

[16]The motif of the fable is noted in Thompson, J512.3. See also Wienert pp. 46 (ET 47) and 90 (ST 20).

[17]See above, note 7. In the other editions of Aesopic fables mentioned so far the version of Gregory is not noted, while in the edition of Eustratiades the text of the Munich codex is not utilized.

[18]The fable is also found in the Παραδειγματικοὶ λόγοι of Syntipas (= Perry 14, p. 533, Hausrath/Hunger 14, fasc. 2, pp. 160-61). Concerning the motif of the fable and its classification see Thompson, J954.2. and Wienert, pp. 44 (ET 17) and 100 (ST 140).

81[19]). The text of Eustathios, however, does not come from a prose fable, as Koukoules thought; it is part of an epode by Archilochos of Paros (81 Diehl[20] = 185 West,[21] vv. 3-6). The subject of this epode is a beast-fable, and its presence in Eustathios is well known to the editors of Archilochos.[22] The epode of Archilochos and its fable were renowned in antiquity as evinced by the numerous ancient references to it, which are, however, almost always merely allusive.[23] As a result, and despite the wealth of ancient evidence, only six verses of the epode have come down to us, which contain too few elements from which the narrative of the fable might be safely deduced. Thus, the identification of the fable with one of those preserved in the fable collections has been a challenge to scholars for a long time,[24] and their opinions are divided between two fables, namely Halm 43 and Halm 44 (= Perry 81: Πίθηκος βασιλεὺς αἱρεθεὶς καὶ ἀλώπηξ,[25] Chambry 38, Hausrath/Hunger 83).

The third fable comes from *Letter* 116 of Michael Choniates[26] and narrates the story of a weasel that became human. When, however, she was a bride, she happened to see a mouse and she immediately

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[19]References to Babrius' text are to the edition by B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus,* London-Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

[20]E. Diehl - R. Beutler, *Anthologia lyrica Graeca,* fasc. 3: *Iamborum scriptores,* 3rd ed., Leipzig 1952.

[21]M. L. West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati,* vol. 1, Oxford 1971.

[22]See, e.g., the editions of Diehl and West cited above.

[23]See, e.g., Plato, *Republic* 365c (ed. J. Burnet) τὴν...τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκα ἑλκτέον ἐξόπισθεν κερδαλέαν καὶ ποικίλην and the parody by Aristophanes in *Acharnians* 119-20. See also the abundant ancient *testimonia* cited by the editors of Archilochos (e.g., the passages cited in West's edition for fragments 185-87 or for the fragments 188-89 and 192 in the edition of G. Tarditi, *Archiloco. Introduzione, testimonianze sulla vita e sull' arte, testo critico, traduzione* (*Lyricorum Graecorum quae extant,* II), Roma 1968.

[24]See, e.g., the "Dissertatio de fabulis Archilochi" of I. G. Huschke in the edition of Fr. De Furia, *Fabulae Aesopicae...,* Leipzig 1810, pp. 224 ff., Fr. Lasserre, *Les épodes d' Archiloque,* Paris 1950, pp. 110 ff. and the recent bibliography in I.-Θ. A. Παπαδημητρίου, Ἀρχαῖοι Ἕλληνες Λυρικοί, 2nd ed., Athens 1979, p. 189.

[25]Although the fact is not noted in the international motif-indices, the fable has survived in Mod. Greek folk-tradition; see Γ. A. Μέγα, Τὸ ἑλληνικὸ παραμύθι, fasc. 1: Μῦθοι ζώων, (Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐρεύνης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας, XIV), Athens 1978, p. 34, no. *45. For the motif and the classification of the fable see Thompson, K730.1. and Wienert, pp. 47 (ET 59), 90 (ST 23), 94 (ST 73), 97 (ST 114). Thompson, however, does not note that the fable is found also in La Fontaine, *Fables* VI, 6 as well as in other French writers discussed in R. Jasinski, *La Fontaine et le premier recueil des "Fables",* vol. 2, Paris 1966, pp. 292-97.

[26]Σπ. Π. Λάμπρου, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ Σωζόμενα, vol. 2, Athens 1880 (photo-reprint Groningen 1968), p. 239, 5-18 (not 339, 5 ff.).

attacked and devoured it. Koukoules also notes the presence of the
fable in the *Chiliades* of J. Tzetzes,[27] in the *Tetrasticha* of Ignatios
Diaconos,[28] and in Gregory Nazianzen,[29] where he also finds a kind of
moral: τὸ γὰρ πεφυκὸς οὐ ταχέως μεθίσταται.[30] It should be added
that the fable is also found in a letter of Emperor Julian the Apostate.[31]
Thus, again the sources that preserve the fable cover an impressively
long span of time. According to Koukoules, some distinguished
modern Greek scholars have dealt with the fable, namely, Sp. P. Lam-
bros, N. G. Politis, and P. N. Papageorgiou, who believed that the
fable was not ancient (Lambros and Papageorgiou), that "it is other-
wise unknown" (Papageorgiou) and that "it was composed during
Byzantine times" (Politis).[32] The fable, however, is neither unknown
nor Byzantine; it is certainly ancient and this becomes evident from the
Byzantine sources themselves. Julian attributes the fable to Babrius,
Tzetzes mentions Aesop explicitly (v. 937: ὥσπερ που γράφει τὴν
γαλῆν ὁ Αἴσωπος ἐν μύθοις) and Choniates calls the fable "Aeso-
pian." Indeed, this is the well known ancient fable Γαλῆ καὶ

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[27]P. A. M. Leone, *Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae* (*Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto di Filologia
Classica*, I), Naples 1968, IV, 939-44.

[28]Number 39 in the edition of K. F. Müller, *Ignatii Diaconi aliorumque tetrasticha
iambica*, which is included in the edition of O. Crusius, *Babrii fabulae Aesopeae*, Leipzig
1897. As Koukoules notes, Sp. Lambros has edited the poem on the basis of codex 13 of
the monastery of Vatopedi in Νέος 'Ελληνομνήμων 7 (1910) 448, no. 14. There is,
however, another edition of the same *tetrastichon* by Sp. Lambros on the basis of cod. 287
(16th cent.) of the Docheiariou monastery in his "Συλλογαὶ Αἰσωπείων μύθων (see
above, note 6), pp. 50 and 59, no. 3; see also his *Catalogus*, vol. 1, no. 2961.

[29]"Επη ἱστορικά, Α'. Περὶ ἐαυτοῦ ΙΒ' (Εἰς ἐαυτὸν καὶ περὶ ἐπισκόπων), vv.
701-708, *Patrologia Graeca* (Migne), XXXVII, col. 1217.

[30]Instead of this moral, in the text of M. Choniates (239, 15-18) we find a refer-
ence to Pindar and a quotation (not identified by Lambros) from his *Olymp.* 11, 19-21
(noted by the editors of Pindar).

[31]Number 82 ('Ιουλιανὸς κατὰ τοῦ Νείλου) in the edition J. Bidez, *L' Empereur
Julien; oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1, 2, 3rd ed., Paris 1972. Julian depends in part on the Ba-
brian version of the fable (see below, note 34).

[32]See Koukoules, p. 224 and note 6 and p. 225 and note 1. Koukoules himself
displays some doubts regarding these conclusions (p. 225), because Choniates calls the fa-
ble "Aesopian." Papageorgiou cites this fable in his Συμβολῆς εἰς τὴν 'Ελληνικὴν
παροιμίαν κεφάλαια τέσσερα, Athens 1901, p. 67, no. 173, and on page 36 states that
the fable is "unknown." Lambros and Politis, however, do not seem to have maintained
the views attributed to them by Koukoules (see Lambros' relevant publications above,
notes 6, 26, and 28). Koukoules was probably led astray by what Lambros says in one of
his studies (above, note 6) with reference to some other fables. With regard to Politis
the remark attributed to him refers to another fable, which will be discussed below (the
fourth fable in Koukoules' study); see N. Γ. Πολίτου, Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς
γλώσσης τοῦ 'Ελληνικοῦ λαοῦ. Παροιμίαι, vol. 3, Athens 1901 (photo-reprint 1965),
pp. 565-66.

Ἀφροδίτη (Perry 50, Chambry 76,[33] Hausrath/Hunger 50) of which we also have an ancient rendition in Babrius' *Mythiambs*.[34] Furthermore, the fable is found in several vernacular literatures and has been widely studied.[35] It has also survived both in the Greek Paroemiographers[36] and in Modern Greek folk tradition.[37]

Michael Choniates is the source, too, of the fourth fable studied by Koukoules.[38] It is a fable that Choniates himself calls

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[33]In Chambry's edition there is also a verse rendition of the fable, different from the ones in Babrius, Gregory and Ignatios.

[34]Fable 32 in Perry's *Babrius and Phaedrus*.

[35]See Thompson, J1908.2. and Wienert, pp. 45 (ET 34) and note 6 therein for bibliography, 71 (ET 351), 78 (ET 444) and also pp. 86-87 (ST 1) for a rich commentary. The motif is found also in Italian and Spanish texts as Thompson notes, but its survival in Mod. Greek tradition should also be noted (see below, note 37) as well as its occurrence in French Literature (La Fontaine, II, 18; see also C. R. Jasinski *La Fontaine*, vol. 1, Paris 1966, pp. 382-92). The fable, the ancient references to it, and the relevant questions in world literature, have been studied extensively. See, e.g., E. Rohde, "Ein griechisches Märchen," *RhM* 43 (1888), pp. 303-05 = *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, Tübingen - Leipzig 1901, pp. 212-15; O. Crusius, "Ueber eine alte Thierfabel," *RhM* 49 (1894), pp. 299-308 (especially, pp. 302-05) and Joh. Hertel, "Altindische Parallelen zu Babrius 32," *ZVV* 22 (1912), pp. 244-52 and the "Nachschrift" on p. 301. See also our next note.

[36]See E. L. v. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vol. 1, Göttingen 1839, Ζηνοβίου, Ἐπιτομή II 93 (see also the relevant note therein) and vol. 2 (1951), M. Ἀποστολίου, Συναγωγή V 21 and 25, XI 89a, where similar proverbs are recorded (see the relevant notes therein). See also D. K. Karathanassis, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten des Altertums in den rhetorischen Schriften des Michael Psellos, des Eustathios und des Michael Choniates sowie in anderen rhetorischen Quellen des XII Jahrhunderts*, Lamia [Greece] 1936, pp. 108-09, nos. 228 and 229.

[37]See Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, Παροιμιόμυθοι, p. 39, no. 147 (cf. also p. 54, no. 195 and the fable Ὁ Γάτος Χατζής: Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, Νεοελληνικὰ λαογραφικὰ κείμενα, [Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, XLVIII], Athens 1957, p. 25, no. 2) and his Κεφαλονίτικα Γνωμικά, Athens 1952, p. 93, no. 613. Fables and proverbs that express the same idea are abundant both in Greek and in other literatures; see, e.g., Perry 107 (Chambry 120, Hausrath/Hunger 109), and the fable-proverbs about the wolf discussed below; also Loukatos' Παροιμιόμυθοι, p. 33, no. 124, p. 36, no. 138 (also his Κεφαλονίτικα Γνωμικά, p. 93, no. 614) and p. 40, no. 149. Numerous references are also found in Thompson, entry U120. ("Nature will show itself") and under the same entry (= motifs 1195-1229) in L. Bødker, *Indian Animal Tales: A Preliminary Survey (FF Communications*, no. 170) Helsinki 1957. Closely akin to Perry 50 is the fable of the Cat and the Candle; see Thompson, J1908.1. and Aarne/Thompson, 217 (cf. also 111) and Bødker, *op. cit.*, no. 1233. In Aarne/Thompson several versions of the fable are not noted: Medieval Latin (in Odo Cheritonensis; see Hervieux, p. 296, no. 79), Armenian (see Perry, p. 743, entry "*Catus ferens...*") and Mod. Greek (see Γ. Α. Μέγα, Μῦθοι ζώων, p. 94, no. 217, but the fable is not identical with Perry 50, as Megas seems to imply).

[38]See the letter cited above (note 26), p. 239, 20-30 in Lambros' edition.

"*νεώτερον*,"[39] and he uses it to reiterate the point he made with the previous fable (i.e., Perry 50). The connection between the two fables is valid, because both express the conviction that the true nature of an animal does not change even when it assumes a new form or way of life. Such changes are either superficial or a cover for hypocrisy. The analogies with human society and behavior are all too obvious, and this explains the creation of the many variations on this motif which will be examined below. In Choniates' fable the main hero is a wolf who is baptized and becomes a Christian. Although Koukoules considers the fable "Aesopian," it is not found in any of the editions of Greek fables mentioned above. Thus, it is useful to summarize here its plot. The wolf is baptized and becomes a Christian. He now vows *μηκέτι τοῖς θρέμμασι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιέναι καὶ διαλυμαίνεσθαι*. But as he was being led into town with honors and in a *λαμπροφορία*, he saw a pig lying by the side of the road. The animal's true nature sprang to life immediately, and the wolf attacked and devoured the pig. After all, as the wolf explained, the pig did not stand up, when it saw a neophyte Christian come by.

The fable has left many traces in Modern Greek folklore. P. Papageorgiou[40] and subsequently Koukoules have already called attention to a Mod. Greek proverb that might be considered a summary of the fable: Ὁ *λύκος κι ἂν βαφτίστηκε Χριστιανὸς δὲν ἔγινε* ("even if the wolf was baptized, he did not become a Christian").[41] Moreover, there are several fables and proverbs in which a wolf (or some other predatory animal) becomes a Christian or repents, and they are found both in Mod. Greek and in Medieval Latin narratives. Here belong, e.g., two fables conventionally ascribed to Romulus (Perry 655 and 655a).[42] Closely connected with them and more immediately with the

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[39]Papageorgiou, Συμβολῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν παροιμίαν, p. 36, comments on the fable and maintains that it was invented at the time of Choniates. The Byzantine author, however, simply states that he learned the fable from one of his contemporaries and that it was "*νεώτερος*," which probably means simply not found in the ancient collections, in contrast to the one that he had narrated previously (= Perry 50).

[40]See Papageorgiou, *loc. cit.*

[41]The proverb would fit just as well other fables on the wolf's conversion to Christianity.

[42]In the two fables we actually have the same narrative in prose and in verse. The wolf vows to fast, but in the end he eats his usual prey after giving it a different name. The object of the satire is the circumvention of the rules of fasting under various pretexts. A version of the fable is found in the English collection of fables culled from various sources by R. L'Estrange, *Fables of Aesop and Other Eminent Mythologists with Morals and Reflexions,* 6th ed., London 1714, p. 507, no. 469. Another version is found in E. du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge, précédées d'une histoire de la fable ésopique,*

one in Choniates are two other Latin fables: one is narrated by Odo of
Cheriton (Perry 595: *Isengrimus*[43] *monachus*)[44] and the other is found in
the mss. along with Odo's fables (Perry 641: *Lupus et sacerdos*).[45] In
the first fable Isengrim wanted to become a monk.   After many
entreaties he was admitted to the ranks and assumed a monk's habit.
Now he was expected to learn Christian prayers. However, when he
was taught to say by heart *Pater noster*, he could only utter *agnus* or
aries.   Next, *docuerunt eum ut respiceret ad crucifixum, ad sacrificium, et
ille semper direxit oculos ad arietes*. The substance of Odo's fable appears
earlier in *Ysengrimus,* the celebrated Medieval Latin *Tierepos* composed
by Nivardus of Ghent.[46] Here, Isengrim becomes a monk and enters a
monastery, where the other monks *docent* [sc. Ysengrimum], *"amén"
quasi grecum, accentuat "ágne"* (v. 559). In the other fable (Perry 641)
the wolf once *venit...ad penitentiam et uno oculo respiciebat sacerdotem et
cum alio oves super montem*.[47]

Identical in substance with the first Latin fable (Perry 595) is a
Byzantine (and Mod. Greek) fable-proverb included in the collection
compiled by Maximos Planudes: μνουμένω τῷ λύκω ἐκέλευον εἰπεῖν
"ἀμήν," ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν "ἀρνίν"[48] (= "when the wolf was being bap-
tized, they kept asking him to say 'amen', but he kept saying 'lamb'.")
It is clear that this is the same story which we read in the Latin fable in
an expanded form. Is this a loan to the East from the West or the
reverse? Although in the Latin fable a fuller text is found, the word-
play around which the story is built *Pater noster/agnus* (or *aries*) and

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Paris 1854, pp. 27-28, who also gives references to still more versions. The first three
versions mentioned here are summarized by B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus,* pp. 569-
70.

[43] *Isengrimus* (or *Ysengrimus*) is the wolf's name in the Medieval Latin poem by the
same title (see next note), the *Roman de Renart,* and several Medieval fables and sayings.

[44] Also in Hervieux, pp. 195-96, no. 22: *De Lupo qui voluit esse monachus.*

[45] Also in Hervieux, p. 406, no. 2 [37]: *De Lupo et sacerdote.*

[46] See the ed. by E. Voigt, *Ysengrimus,* Halle 1884, V, 541 ff. and the reference
therein (p. 290) to W. Wackernagel; see also E. Kurtz, "Zu den παροιμίαι δημώδεις,"
Philologus 49 (1890), pp. 465-66.

[47] The motif of the fable is recorded in Thompson, U125. together with references
to versions in Arabic and Spanish, but no mention is made of the Latin and Byzantine fa-
bles discussed here or of the Mod. Greek fable-proverbs mentioned below. K. Krum-
bacher, *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter* (*SBAW* II, 1), Munich 1893 (photo-reprint Hil-
desheim 1969), p. 211, cites in German a corresponding Arabic proverb (*Man brachte den
Wolf in die Leseschule und sprach ihm vor "a b c"; er aber sagte: "Lamm, Ziege, Böckchen"*)
published by Alb. Socin, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten,* Tübingen 1878, p. 21, no.
282.

[48] See E. Kurtz, *Die Sprichwörtersammlung des Maximus Planudes,* Leipzig 1886, p. 36,
no. 179 and also Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, Παροιμιόμυθοι, p. 41, no. 154.

ἀμήν (with Byzantine or Mod. Greek pronunciation)/ ἀρνίν is much better in the Greek text. The corresponding Latin pair (*Pater noster/agnus*) could hardly be called word-play in terms of the sound of the words. Indeed, the use of *agnus* in the text can be understood only as a translation of the Greek ἀρνίν. In the alternate Latin pair (*Pater noster/aries*) one may see a freer and somewhat more successful adaptation of the Greek pair into Latin. The most successful Latin word-play, however, is found in the *Ysengrimus* (*amen/agne*), where we also find traces of Greek influence, because the wolf is taught to pronounce *"amén" quasi grecum.* The adoption in the story of the Greek rather than the Latin pronunciation of "amen" (amín) can only be attributed to the influence of a Greek version, because it does not bring the sound of "amen" closer to the sound of Latin *agne,* but on the contrary diminishes the similarity in the accent of the two words. Be that as it may, even in its best form the word-play in Latin remains less successful than the one used by Planudes. Thus, if we are to consider one version as the source of the other, we have to accept that only in the Greek can we find an apt satirical starting-point for the story. Of course, the Latin versions are found in authors a little earlier than Planudes, but the Byzantine scholar included in his collection older proverbs also.

It may also be noted here that the Byzantine fable-proverb has survived in Mod. Greek folk-tradition. A version recorded in 1963 from Skopi of Seteia (in Crete) is almost identical with the Byzantine one: "Τὸ λύκο ἐβαφτίζανε νὰ πῆ ἀμὴν κῆλεγε ἀρνί" (= they were baptizing the wolf and teaching him to say "amen," but he said "lamb").[49]

There is a second, satirical motif in the Latin fable, which also occurs in the other fable mentioned above (Perry 641). It centers on the wolf's inability to concentrate piously on the cross or the priest; he

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[49]See N. Ρουσσομουστακάκη, ms. 2808, p. 25, no. 185, of the *Research Center for Greek Folklore of the Academy of Athens* (hereafter *Folklore Center*). Another version in which the religious context is removed, while the wolf is subjected to a form of torture, was recorded in 1938 from Ierapetra (again in the province of Seteia) by M. Λιουδάκι, *Folklore Center* ms. 1162B, p. 98: "Τὸ λύκο μιὰ φορὰ τὸν ἐγδέρνανε [were skinning him] καὶ τοῦ λέγανε νὰ πῆ 'ἀμή', γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἀφήσουνε, κι αὐτὸς ἔλεγε 'ἀρνί, ἀρνί, ἀρνί'." According to N. G. Politis the fable-proverb occurs also in the folk-tradition of other peoples; see entry "Λύκος, 38" in his notes (for the volumes of Παροιμίαι that he was not able to finish) preserved in the *Folklore Center*. I am indebted to my colleague and director of the *Folklore Center* St. Imellos for allowing me access to the rich unpublished folklore materials of the Center.

cannot conform, because his true nature makes him look at the sheep.[50]
The same motif re-emerges in two Mod. Greek fable-proverbs. In the
first one, the story has undergone no change. While the wolf was being
tonsured to become a monk, he asked "where are the sheep going?"
("Τὸ λύκο τὸν κουρεύανε, κι' ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε, Ποῦ πᾶν τὰ
πρόβατα;"[51]). The scene is slightly altered in the second fable-
proverb (recorded from Pontos), which is said either about the wolf or
the bear.[52] They were reading to the wolf passages from the Gospels
when he asked "wherever are the priest's sheep climbing?" ("Τὸ
λύκον ἐτραβαγγέλιζαν κι' ἐκεῖνος ἐρώτανεν, τὶ ποπᾶ τὰ πρόγατα

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[50]What led the wolf to religion? Neither the texts mentioned so far, nor the
relevant Mod. Greek fable-proverbs offer an explanation. The wolf's motivation might
be deduced from another medieval Latin fable-proverb: Lupus languebat, tunc monachus
esse volebat / Postquam convaluit, lupus, ut ante fuit. See H. Walther, *Proverbia senten-
tiaeque latinitatis Medii Aevi* (*Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina*, II, 2), vol. 2, Göttingen
1964, no. 14117. Walther records also a similar fable-proverb under no. 27977 (vol. 4
Göttingen 1966). The same motif, however, is used also with reference to the devil:
Demon languebat, monachus bonus esse volebat / Postquam convaluit, mansit, ut ante fuit...
(Walther, vol. 1, Göttingen 1963, no. 4871). From the number of sources cited by
Walther it becomes evident that the latter version was far better known in the Middle
Ages. Well known was also another fable-proverb built around the same motif. It refers
to sick people, who turn to religion until they get well, but subsequently continue their
old bad ways (see *ibid.*, no. 6518 and also Thompson U236., "False repentance of the
sick").

[51]The fable-proverb and several variants are widely known in Greece, but only a
sample is given below. The text was recorded from Sparta by M. Λιουδάκι in 1939, *Folk-
lore Center* ms. 1372, p. 184. A variant was printed by Π. Ἀραβαντινός,
Παροιμιαστήριον ἢ Συλλογὴ παροιμιῶν. Ἐν χρήσει οὐσῶν παρὰ τοῖς
Ἠπειρώταις, μετ' ἀναπτύξεως τῆς ἐννοίας αὐτῶν καὶ παραλληλισμοῦ πρὸς τὰς
ἀρχαίας, Ioannina [Greece] 1863, p. 125, no. 1357. In Aravantinos' text the interroga-
tive "ποῦ" is omitted and this omission might account in part for his misunderstand-
ing the fable-proverb, which he takes to mean (unlike Loukatos, Παροιμιόμνθοι, p. 41, no.
154) "ὅτι οἱ κακοῦργοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις τῆς ζωῆς τῶν στιγμαῖς
δυσαρεστοῦνται, διότι οὐ δύνανται κακουργῆσαι." A similar mistaken interpretation
was advanced by K. Krumbacher, *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter*, p. 211 ("Der Wolf selbst
in der Todesstunde noch an die Schafe denkt"), who knew the fable-proverb from the
collection of Aravantinos and also from the one by I. Βενιζέλος, Παροιμίαι δημώδεις
συλλεγεῖσαι καὶ ἑρμηνευθεῖσαι, 2nd ed., Ermoupolis [Greece] 1867, p. 311, no. 389.
Venizelos also omits the interrogative "ποῦ" and offers another mistaken interpretation
"εἰς τοὺς φύσει κακοποιοὺς οἵτινες καὶ δυστυχοῦντος [sic] δὲν μεταβάλλονται." A
variant without religious overtones (cf. also above, note 49), was recorded from Patras:
"Τὸ λύκο γδέρναν γιὰ πετσί, σταθῆτε τὶ πᾶν τὰ πρόβατα" (see Χ. Κορύλλου, *Folk-
lore Center* ms. 2268B, p. 579).

[52]The substitution of one animal in place of another is frequent in fables, proverbs
etc., without necessarily affecting their meaning; see J.-Th. A. Papademetriou, "The Mu-
tations of an Ancient Greek Proverb," *REG* 83 (1970), p. 101 and note 36 therein.

μερκᾶν πάγνε;'').[53]

Last in Koukoules' study comes a charming fable narrated by Gregory Nazianzen.[54] The editors of Greek fables have been aware of the occurrence of Greek fables in Gregory's works,[55] but this particular fable is not included in any of the critical editions that we have mentioned above. Hence, it would be useful to summarize it here. Somebody was mocking the owl for her uncomely features: her large head, "the greyishness of her eyes," her ugly voice, her thick legs. The owl, however, was able to counter each derogatory remark. She did so by referring to someone else who had the same individual feature and yet was not considered ugly.[56] Nevertheless, in the end the owl is defeated in this *agon*, because she cannot rebut the final jeer: each one of those she had invoked to defend herself had only a single ugly feature, while she had all of them and in each instance to a high degree (ἅπαντα καὶ λίαν).

The first reaction of a reader of the fable is surprise, for Athena's bird, the symbol of wisdom, is presented as an object of mockery and, moreover, despite her presumed intelligence, she does not manage to defend herself successfully to the end. There are very few ancient fables in which the owl has an important role, and in most of them her presence does not constitute a permanent element or one indispensable to the development of the plot.[57] Nevertheless, in these fables the owl

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[53]See A. A. Παπαδοπούλου, "Τοπικὰ ἐπιρρήματα τῆς Ποντικῆς διαλέκτου," 'Αθηνᾶ 29, Λεξικογραφικὸν 'Αρχεῖον Δ', (1917), p. 146 and his "Παροιμίαι," 'Αρχεῖον Πόντου 2 (1929), p. 129, no. 852, where he prints the variant "Λύκον ἐτραναγγέλιζαν κι ἀτὸς τ' ἀρνία τέρνεν [= was looking at]." Another variant is found in Ξ. Κ. "Ακογλου, Λαογραφικὰ Κοτνώρων, Athens 1939, p. 496, no. 319 and in Loukatos' Παροιμιόμυθοι, p. 41, no. 154. The proverb is recorded also in many unpublished mss. of the *Folklore Center*. The idea in this fable-proverb is essentially the same as the one expressed in the fable Γαλῆ καὶ 'Αφροδίτη and its variants. See above, note 37.

[54]"Επη θεολογικά, Β' : "Επη ἠθικά, ΚΗ' (Κατὰ πλουτούντων), vv. 232-46, *Patrologia Graeca* (Migne) XXXVII, cols. 873-74.

[55]See, e.g., O. Crusius, *Babrii fabulae Aesopeae*, p. 6, paragraph 7, and Coraës p. 247, no. 386, where he edits a fable from Gregory's "Επη ἠθικά

[56]To justify the first two defects the owl sagaciously invokes the similarity with Zeus and Athena. For the last two defects, however, she can only point out her similarity to two other rather unpopular birds, the jay (κίττα) and the starling (ψήρ).

[57]These fables are: *Cicada et Noctua* (Perry 507 = Phaedrus III, 16, the motif in Thompson, K815.5.); Γλαὺξ καὶ "Ορνεα (Perry 437 and 437a, the motif in Thompson, J621.1.), but the owl plays a role only in one branch of the tradition, while in the other two branches the swallow appears in her place (see B. E. Perry, "Demetrius of Phaleron and the Aesopic Fables," *TAPhA* 93 [1962], pp. 315-18); one of the many versions of the fable (Perry 101) Κολοιὸς καὶ "Ορνεα (the motif in Thompson J951.2.), which bears the title Κολοιὸς καὶ Γλαὺξ = Halm 200, 3rd version in Coraës no. 188; this version is re-

displays wisdom, intelligence, or at least cunning. Yet, already in anti-
quity there had been doubts concerning the bird's intelligence. Dio
Chrysostomos (72, 14-15) narrates one of the fables in which the owl
appears intelligent (Perry 437a), but at the end he adds (72, 15-16): ἡ
μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαία γλαὺξ τῷ ὄντι φρονίμη ἦν καὶ ξυμβουλεύειν
ἐδύνατο, αἱ δὲ νῦν [sc. γλαῦκες] μόνον τὰ πτερὰ ἔχουσι ἐκείνης
καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὸ ῥάμφος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀφρονέστεραί εἰσι
τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνέων. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἑαυτὰς δύνανται οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖν.[58]

Dio's view is in keeping with the picture of the owl in folk-
literature in general and in literary works drawing on it. Here the owl is
frequently mocked for her ugliness and her ludicrous claim to beauty.
In a medieval Latin fable (Perry 614: *Bubo et alia volatilia*)[59] a beauty
contest of the birds is reported. The prize for the victor is a rose: *Venit
bubo et dixit se esse pulcherrimam et quod debuit habere rosam. Omnes
mote sunt **in risum**, dicentes "Tu es avis pulcherrima per antiphrasim,
quoniam **turpissima**.'*[60]

The owl claims beauty once again, but this time on behalf of her
children[61] in a fable of Abstemius[62] and in its derivative fable V, 18 (*L'*

cast and narrated also by Libanius (Coraës' 6th version, p. 118, Hausrath/Hunger, fasc.
2, pp. 131-32), Theophylactos Simocattes (= Hausrath/Hunger, *ibid.* 2, pp. 153-54), Igna-
tios (= Coraës' 5th version, p. 118) and I. Tzetzes (= Coraës' 4th version, p. 117). A
corresponding narrative is found in Babrius 72, where the swallow replaces the owl and in
Phaedrus 1, 3, where the owl is left out. Phaedrus' version is the model for La Fontaine
IV, 9 (not cited by Thompson under motif J951.2.).

[58]The findings of modern ornithologists confirm Dio's estimate of the bird's low
degree of intelligence; see H. Duda, *Animal Nature in the Aesopic Fables* (diss., Urbana, Il-
linois 1948), pp. 49-50. Ancient lore and observations on the owl are conveniently gath-
ered together in D' Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London - Oxford 1936
(photo-reprint Hildesheim 1966), entry "γλαὺξ."

[59]Also in Hervieux, pp. 226-27, no. 55: *De rosa et volatilibus*. The motif in Thomp-
son, K98. ("Beauty contest won by deception"), who does not refer to this fable.

[60]Nevertheless, the owl wins the prize through guile, because she steals the rose
during the night, while the other birds are asleep.

[61]The owl's claims of beauty for herself and her children are combined and attri-
buted to the frog in an amusing fable of Odo, *De filio Bufonis et sotularibus,* Hervieux, pp.
187-88, no. 14; the transference from the owl to the frog may have been facilitated by
the similarity of their medieval names (*bubo/bufo*). Here, the hare asks the frog how he
would recognize the latter's son, which the frog had described simply as
pulcherrimum...inter omnia animalia. The frog's answer is *qui tale habet caput quale est
meum, talem ventrem, tales tibias, tales pedes.* As the lion observes at the end, *si quis amat
Ranam, Ranam putat esse Dianam.*

[62]I was able to consult the edition of 1505 (Grunii Corococtae, *Porcelli Testamentum.
Laurentii Abstemii* Maceratensis, *Hecatomythium secundum. Eiusdem libellus de verbis com-
munibus*), in which the relevant fable is the fourteenth and bears the title *De Bubone di-
cente Aquilae filios suos caeterarum avium filiis esse formosiores.* Concerning the work of

aigle et le hibou) of La Fontaine (we cite the latter's text). The eagle is a friend of the owl and he wishes to ensure that he will not kill his friend's children by mistake. For this reason he asks her how he will recognize them. She informs him (vv. 15-16):

>   "Mes petits sont mignons,
> Beaux, bien faits, et jolis sur tous leurs compagnons."

One day, the eagle finds on a rock the owl's children, which are (vv. 27-28):

> De petits monstres fort hideux,
> Rechignés, un air triste, une voix de Mégère.

Reassured that these could not be the owl's children, the eagle devours them. The same motif in substance, but cast into a much milder form, appears also in Mod. Greek tradition. The owl gives the partridge bread to take to her children at school and wants to be sure that the partridge makes no mistake. She tells her how to recognize her children: they are the most beautiful ones. The partridge, however, comes back with the bread, because she found that her own were the most beautiful children and not the owl's.[63]

The motif in these stories is found both in antiquity and Byzantium[64] and also in the folk-tradition of many peoples. In antiquity, however, we find the ape in the role of the owl.[65] In the international folk-tradition the role of the ugly animal is assumed sometimes by the ape or the owl, but also by other birds and animals, or even insects.[66] Mocking stories on the owl's excessive claim to having beautiful children constitute the more widespread category, but in other fables, fable-proverbs, or narratives we also find mockery of either the owl or

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Abstemius (= Lorenzo Bevilaqua), see C. Filosa, *La favola e la letteratura esopiana in Italia dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni* (*Storia dei generi letterari italiani,* without a series number), Milano 1952, pp. 83-86 and the bibliographical note 25 therein.

[63]Our summary of the Mod. Greek fable is based on the texts published by N. Γ. Πολίτης, (Ή πέρδικα καὶ ἡ χουχουβάγια), "Σύμμικτα," Λαογραφία 5 (1915), p. 620 and Δ. Σ. Λουκάτος, (Ή πέρδικα κι᾽ ἡ κουκουβάγια) Νεοελληνικὰ λαογραφικὰ κείμενα, pp. 47-48, no. 4. The fable is the source of several Mod. Greek proverbs; see N. Γ. Πολίτου, "Σύμμικτα," pp. 621-22. The myth is listed also by Γ. Α. Μέγας, Μῦθοι ζώων, pp. 100-101, no. 247.

[64]Echoes of the fable in Byzantine authors are noted by N. G. Politis, "Σύμμικτα," p. 622 and especially note 10.

[65]See Perry 364 (= Babrius 56) and Avianus 14.

[66]See Thompson, T681. ("Each likes his own children best"), Aarne/Thompson 247, and N. Γ. Πολίτου, "Σύμμικτα," pp. 621-22. Abundant references are found in the above works, but the texts of La Fontaine and Avianus are not mentioned in either work, while the Mod. Greek versions are listed only by Politis.

her children.[67] Specifically, in a Mod. Greek fable-proverb the large head and the tail of the bird are objects of satire,[68] while in a Mod. Greek fable the bird's head and her longevity receive the same treatment.[69]

The preceding examination of the various texts and traditions about the owl makes it clear that the close connection between the bird and wisdom in fables etc. does not extend beyond antiquity. On the contrary, Athena's bird was very early reduced to an object of mockery. It is also clear that the fable of Gregory Nazianzen occupies an important place in this process, since it is the first text based on popular tradition in which the owl is reduced to her new role.

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[67]See Aarne/Thompson 247B*, 247B**, 247B***, Thompson T681.1. and also Aarne/Thompson 230 and Thompson K1985.

[68]See Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, Παροιμιόμυθοι, p. 80, no. 281.

[69]Ἡ κουκουβάγια καὶ τὸ γεράκι: see Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, Νεοελληνικὰ λαογραφικὰ κείμενα, p. 47, no. 3; see also Aarne/Thompson 230 (the motif in Thompson K1985.), and Γ. Α. Μέγα, Μῦθοι ζώων, p. 98, no. 230.

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13

The Art of Rhetoric in Gregor Reisch's
Margarita Philosophica and Conrad Celtes'
Epitome of the Two Rhetorics of Cicero

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Gregor Reisch, sometime Master of Arts at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, prior of the Freiburg Charterhouse from 1502 to his death in 1525, confessor to the Emperor Maximilian, first won fame with the publication of his *Margarita Philosophica,* an epitome, as he called it, of all philosophy.[1] He had apparently begun the work in the early or mid 1490's, but scattered references and dates show that he was still working on it a few months before its initial publication in July 1503.[2] For instance, in the Tractate on Letter-writing in Book III, he gives as an

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[1]Erasmus said of him in 1516: "His views have the weight of an oracle in Germany" (P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum,* II [Oxford, 1910], p. 327, No. 456, 181). For Reisch's biography and a survey of the contents of the *Margarita Philosophica* see especially Gustav Münzel, *Der Kartäuserprior Gregor Reisch und seine Margarita Philosophica* (Freiburg i. Br., 1937), reprinted from *Zeitschrift des Freiburger Geschichtesvereins* 45 (1934), pp. 1-87. Cf. also Robert, Ritter von Srbik, *Die Margarita Philosophica des Gregor Reisch († 1525). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften in Deutschland,* Denkschriften, Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Mathnaturw. Kl., 104 (Vienna, 1941), pp. 82-205; Karl Hartfelder, "Der Karthäuserprior Gregor Reisch, Verfasser der Margarita philosophica," *Zeitschrift f. d. Geschichte des Oberrheins* 44 (1890), pp. 170-200. I have examined all eight of the authorized and unauthorized editions (below, note 4), but have used primarily the Freiburg 1503 and Basle 1508 editions for this study. Page references are given to both editions since pagination in the authorized second (1504) edition is similar to that in the first edition, and in the fourth (1517) edition to that in the third (1508).

[2]On p. π 3ᵛ (1503) there is a poem by Adam Werner which serves as a kind of preface to the book and urges Reisch to publish his *"Epithoma"* as quickly as possible. This poem is given in the second (1504) edition the date: *III Kal. Ianuarias. MCCCC. lxxxvi* (30 December 1496). This date does not occur in the first edition, and was dropped for some reason (was it incorrect?) in the third edition, where the poem is placed with other

example of one way to date a letter: *vicesima Nouembris anni Millesimi quingentesimi secundi.*[3] The book appears to have been well received by university students and teachers in upper Germany. Reisch's authorized printer, Johann Schott, and later his successor Michael Furter, found themselves engaged in a competition for this reading public with Johannes Grüninger of Strassburg. Each firm produced four editions apiece of the *Margarita* between 1503 and 1517. Ten years after Reisch's death Conrad Resch hired Henri Petri in Basle to print a new edition revised by Oronce Finé.[4] Almost fifty years later, in 1583, the market could still support a reprint of the 1535 edition.[5]

  Much of this success was doubtless due to Reisch's remarkable ability to compress a large amount of information into a small compass

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tributes in verse at the back of the book (p. R7^v). The date was probably added then by Reisch himself.

  [3]1503 p. e8^r = 1508 p. k7^r. Münzel (above, note 1), p. 6, thought this might have been the day Reisch was actually writing this part.

  [4]Bibliographical details in John Ferguson, "The *Margarita Philosophica* of Gregorius Reisch. A Bibliography," *The Library,* 4th ser., 10 (1929), 194-216; cf. also Hartfelder (above, note 1), 192-200. The publication data show that Schott issued his first edition "near the feast of St. Margaret" (July 20), 1503, in Freiburg (cf. however Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* [Wiesbaden, 1963], p. 412, who mentions the problems connected with this location for the press). It evidently sold well, and a second edition was being printed for publication on March 16, 1504, when another Strassburg printer, Johannes Grüninger, hurried out a pirated edition on February 24. Schott accordingly inserted a notice to the reader informing him that only his edition was revised by the author, and "the edition of others contained foreign matter." The third authorized edition, published by Schott and Furter in Basle in 1508, and likewise the fourth edition, published by Furter alone in 1517 in Basle, also claim additions and revisions made by Reisch and warn against the "lying *stigmata*" of Grüninger's editions (Strassburg 1504, 1512, and 1515). In the absence of a critical edition of the *Margarita,* these claims cannot be easily checked. No changes, apart from the correction of typographical errors and improvements in punctuation, were made in Book III between the first and fourth editions. Grüninger replaced Reisch's sections on Memory and on Letter-writing by a version of Peter of Ravenna's *Phoenix* (below, note 23), and by a *Modus componendi Epistolas* by Beroaldus (ascribed to Filippo Beroaldo in the British Museum Catalog). He also increased the utility of the book to students by adding several short treatises on various subjects (cf. Ferguson, pp. 208-212). These alterations are presumably his "lies".

  [5]According to Johannes Müller (below, note 9), Book I On Grammar was published separately in Leipzig in 1511. Book V On Geometry was similarly published in Paris in 1549. According to Eberhard Nestle, *Conradi Pellicani de modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum. Deutschlands erste Lehr-, Lese- und Wörterbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (Tübingen, 1877), p. ix, an Italian translation of the entire work was published by P. Gallucci in Venice in 1600. A photographic reproduction of the Basle 1517 edition was published by Stern-Verlag Janssen in Düsseldorf in 1973 in its *Instrumenta philosophica, Series thesauri,* 1.

and still be readable. The use of the dialogue form, traditional in pedagogical works, contributed to this readability. A bright *discipulus* puts questions to his well-informed *magister*. But even more is contributed by Reisch's literary skills. He writes a good and clear expository Latin, largely free from university barbarisms. The work is sometimes called an encyclopedia, as in the title of a poem by Jacob Locher (Philomusus) praising the book, and in the title of the 1583 edition. But it is more properly a compendium or epitome, which is what Reisch himself considered his work to be.[6] In pursuit of this goal he digested the content of numerous works by his contemporaries and predecessors in the university world, illustrated their ideas from his own wide reading in the Bible and in classical, patristic and scholastic authors, and had the published book equipped with a wonderful array of pictures. He thus produced what Münzel calls a "Kosmos der Wissenschaften," a *summa* of what every college graduate in 1500 was expected to know. There is scarcely another book of the period which so sharply exposes the intellectual, and also in many respects the everyday, world of late medieval Germany.[7]

Though Reisch was to a considerable degree a supporter of the New Learning, the *studia humanitatis* occupy a comparatively small piece of territory in this world. And in the *artes sermocinales* of the Trivium, Rhetoric takes a distant third place in Book III, one of the shortest of the twelve books into which the *Margarita* is divided. In book I, on *Grammatica*, Reisch follows the basic outline of Donatus and Alexander's *Doctrinale*, probably in keeping with the curriculum at the University of Freiburg.[8] (Though Priscian is depicted as the representative of advanced grammar in the woodcut illustration introducing this Book, it was evidently Alexander's book which was actually read in class.) However, Reisch seems also to have been guided by the more elementary *Compendium octo partium orationis* (also known as the *Opusculum quintupertitum grammaticale pro pueris in lingua latina breuiter erudiendis*), a textbook widely used in the lower schools in the Netherlands, where it originated, and in upper Germany and hence probably

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[6]In the introductory address to *ingenui Adolescentes* (1503, p. π 2ᵛ) which becomes in 1508 the *Ad lectorem auctoris conclusio* (p. R7ʳ). Münzel (above, note 1), p. 52, n. 90, collects several passages where Reisch makes remarks similar to what he says to the *Adolescentes* — *epitoma omnis philosophie: quantitate quidem parum, sed continentia immensum.* Locher's poem is on p. R8ʳ in the 1508 edition.

[7]Münzel (above, note 1), p. 87.

[8]Cf. Terrence Heath, "Logical Grammar, Grammatical Logic, and Humanism in Three German Universities," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 (1971), 32-34.

very familiar to most students.[9] Book II is devoted to the most important subject in the Trivium, *Dialectica,* and is almost as long as the survey of grammatical knowledge. It is similarly based upon textbooks actually used for teaching logic and disputation: Aristotle (especially the *Topics* and *Sophistici Elenchi*), Peter of Spain, and Paul of Venice.[10]

Book III, which is only one-third as long as either Book I or Book II (some 22 pages compared to their 65 to 70), consists of two Tractates. The first and larger is entitled *De partibus orationis rhetoricae.* It is divided into 23 chapters, each of which, after the introductory first chapter, is apparently to be considered a *pars.* The second and much briefer Tractate, seven chapters in a scant four pages, covers the topic *De epistolis condendis.*

A striking feature of the *Margarita* is the use of numerous woodcut illustrations. Philosophia herself, surrounded by her different kinds of knowledge, appears on the title page, and each of the seven Liberal Arts has a full-page illustration at the start of her respective book.[11] "Rethorica" [*sic*] is presented in a pose more often associated with "Justice" (see Plate). She is sitting on a throne and wearing the Girdle of Justice. A sword and a lily emerge from her flaming mouth. Her breast is the seat of the Muses.[12] The hem of her ornate robe proclaims *Colores, Enthymema, Exemplum.* Crowned with a laurel wreath she holds out the book of Poetry to Virgil with her right hand and the book of History to Sallust with her left. Behind her stand Justinian, holding the orb of empire and the book of Laws, Aristotle (on her right) with the book of Natural Philosophy, and Seneca (on her left) with the book of Moral Philosophy. The trial of Milo is being enacted in front of her throne with Cicero, *pater eloquentiae,* addressing the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* and a regal consul (Pompey?); a *corona* of the populace

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[9]Cf. Münzel (above, note 1), p. 56, n. 91. The *Compendium* incorporates almost verbatim another elementary textbook, the *Exercitium puerorum grammaticale* which likewise originated in the Netherlands and was used in the lower schools of upper Germany; cf. Johannes Müller, *Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichts* (Gotha, 1882), pp. 241-51, 259-60. Münzel notes that the *Compendium* has close associations with Basle and the Basle Charterhouse. Reisch was prior of the nearby Buxheim Charterhouse in 1501 and may well have composed Book I during this time.

[10]Cf. Carl Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendland,* vol. 4 (Leipzig 1870), p. 294, n. 741; Münzel (above, note 1), p. 56, n. 91.

[11]Cf. Münzel (above, note 1), pp. 84-87; Udo Becker, *Die erste Enzyklopädie aus Freiburg um 1495. Die Bilder der Margarita Philosophica des Gregorius Reisch, Prior der Kartäuse,* 850 jähriges Stadtjubiläum Freiburgs (Freiburg 1970).

[12]The lettering on her breast is not completely decipherable. Grüninger's artist, in copying this woodcut, puts *Musae* here, which seems to be more or less correct.
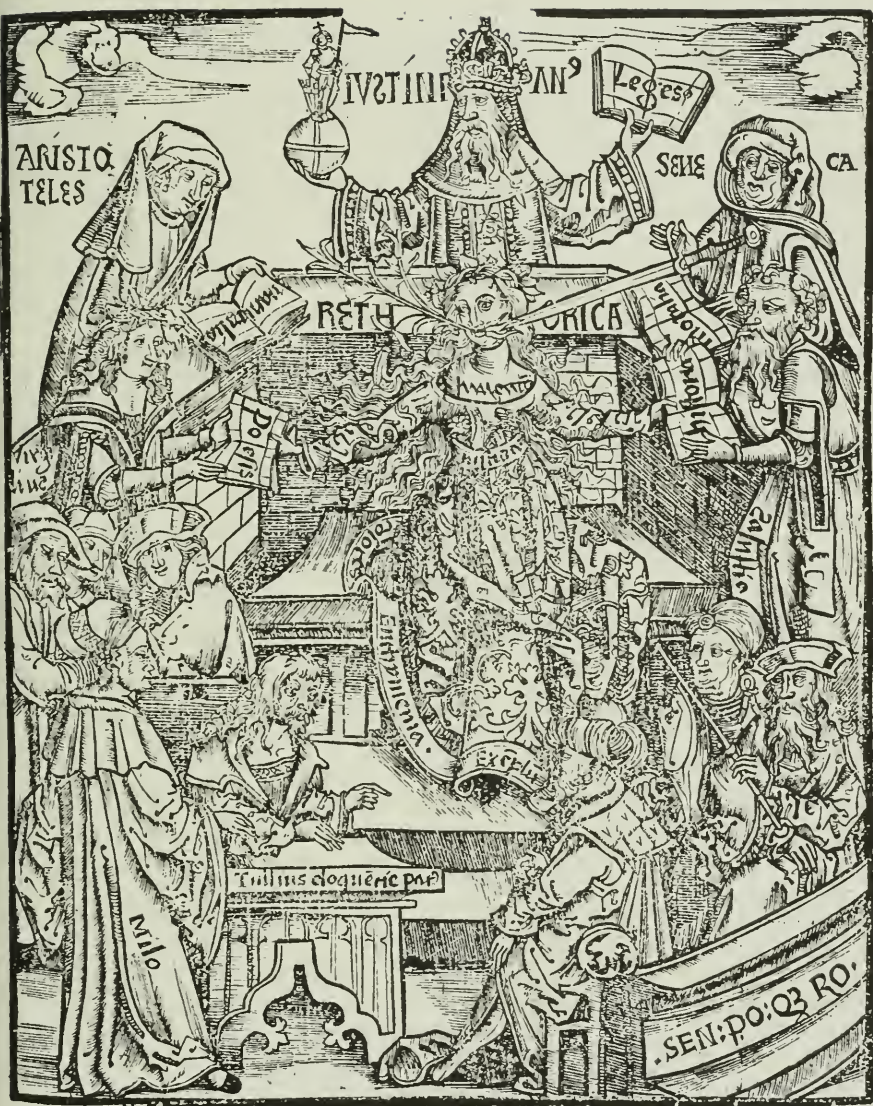
Rethorica

Basle 1508, p. i5ʳ (University of Illinois Library, Urbana). The same
woodcut is used for the editions of 1503, 1504 and 1517.

stands behind him.[13] The artist's conception of rhetoric certainly corresponds well with Cicero's belief that *una est eloquentia* (*De orat.* III. 6. 22), and displays the subject of rhetoric in all its ramifications. Reisch's presentation in words falls a good way short of this ideal. His *discipulus* has learned from Grammar how to express his ideas in correct language, and from Dialectic how to use arguments to elucidate the truth and falsity of this language. But, he says, *in hoc ipso deficere mihi videor.*[14] *quod nondum eas* [sc. *ratiocinationes*] *eo ingenio exornandas pernosco: quo rerum, de quibus sermo est conditio expostulat.* Quite true, replies the *magister;* it is the liberal art of rhetoric which supplies this knowledge.

With this beginning we would expect to find the treatment of rhetoric centered on style and *copia verborum.* Instead Reisch begins chapter 1 in isagogic fashion with a series of questions: *Quid Rhetorica: a quo primo tradita: quid rhetor: quid rhetoris officium: et quot genera causarum.* The Master's answers to the first, third and fourth of these questions come from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (2. 1 ff.). He is unable to answer the second question about the inventor of rhetoric; he knows only that Demosthenes and Cicero cultivated the art brilliantly and that no learned person has ever neglected it because of the benefits which arise from it. But help is at hand. From this point on in Book III, in keeping with his stance as an epitomator, Reisch epitomizes what was

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[13]The iconography goes back ultimately to the description of Rhetoric in Martianus Capella, 5. 426-29, though none of the details in the woodcut except the ornamental dress and perhaps the presence of the sword goes back directly to Capella, but this seems to be typical of the medieval renderings of the Liberal Arts; cf. Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du xiii* siècle en France* (Paris 1931), pp. 82-86. Donald Lemen Clark, "Rhetoric and the Literature of the English Middle Ages," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 45 (1959), pp. 19-21 (reprinted in Lionel Crocker and Paul H. Carmack, *Readings in Rhetoric* [Springfield, Ill., 1965], pp. 220-221), suggests that Rhetoric's elaborate coiffure and gown in the Reisch illustration stand for beauty of style (cf. *cincinnus, calamister, vestire* in Cicero's rhetorical metaphors). The frontispiece of the first and second authorized editions likewise depicts Rhetorica with flowing ringlets, which contrast with the tightly braided hair of Logica, and the partly bouffant, partly loose hair of Grammatica. Rhetorica's emblem here is a scroll with a dangling seal, which perhaps refers to the connection with law and government suggested by the illustration in Book III. The woodcut for this frontispiece was apparently broken during the printing of the second edition and was replaced by a new cut with a completely new illustration in the 1508 edition. In the new version, Rhetorica seems to be holding a lance or sword in her left hand (or it may be the rod of office like the sceptre held in the left hand of the "consul" in the Rethorica cut). She is either pointing to this object with her right hand, or is making an oratorical gesture with this hand of the kind common in the medieval iconography of rhetoric. The imitation of the Rethorica woodcut in Grüninger's editions is artistically feebler and less rich in suggesting the overall significance of Rhetoric.

[14]The printed text has *deficere mihi vide�len re videor;* an evident dittography.

already an epitome, Conrad Celtes' *Epitoma in vtranque Ciceronis rhetori-cam cum arte memoratiua noua et modo epistolandi vtilissimo.*

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Celtes came to the University of Ingolstadt in late 1491 to teach literature and rhetoric for one-half year as an extraordinary lecturer.[15] The *Epitoma* is the first published product of this endeavor.[16] As the title indicates, the work consists of a (very selective) epitome of Cicero's *De Inventione,* and of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* which was still thought to be by Cicero, all in twenty pages ($a2^v$ - $b4^v$);[17] an allegedly novel treatment of artificial memory ($b4^v$ - 5^v) with an appended table of mnemonic letters and words ($c2$);[18] and a Tractate on letter-writing ($b5^v$ - $c1^v$). The book does not seem ever to have been reprinted in its entirety and certainly did not fulfil, at least directly, Celtes' hopes for it: "Following only Cicero's words, and almost the whole thread of his discourse, we have been brought to this hope: If someday our young men and students of the good arts imbibe this fore-taste like a draught of their first milk, they can easily rise to Ciceronian eloquence and to rivalry with Italian letters."[19] Celtes also advances a

[15]Cf. Hans Rupprich, *Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten,* vol. 2 (Leipzig 1935), pp. 40-42, after Carl Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwigs-Maximilians-Universität* (Munich 1872) and Gustav Bauch, *Die Anfänge der Humanismus in Ingolstadt* (Munich 1901).

[16]Published without indication of place, date, or printer; cf. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke,* 6 (Stuttgart - New York 1968), No. 6463. Celtes' prefatory letter dedicating the book to Maximilian I is dated March 28, 1492. In addition to the Epitome of rhetoric, the book also contains four of the poems from his Polish period. I have used a microfilm of the copy in the Annemary Brown Library, Brown University.

[17]Cf. John O. Ward, "From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica,*" in James J. Murphy, *Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric,* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1978), pp. 25-67, on the use of these works in the teaching of rhetoric.

[18]Frances R. Yates does not mention Celtes in her *Art of Memory* (Chicago 1966). According to Harry Caplan, *Of Eloquence. Studies in Ancient and Mediaeval Rhetoric,* Anne King and Helen North, edd., (Ithaca, N.Y. 1970), p. 246, Celtes was the first to use letters instead of visual backgrounds in a mnemonic system. Celtes' system combines these letters with a set of numbers and multiple series of verbal images in a rather complex way, though he claims greater simplicity for his approach compared to the "place" system.

[19]Letter to Maximilian, $a2^r$. Celtes developed his general views on the function of literature and rhetoric in university education in his *Oratio in gymnasio in Ingolstadio publice recitata,* reprinted in Rupprich (above, note 15), pp. 226-38. The *Epitoma* is reprinted with Gerardus Bucoldianus, *De Inventione et Amplificatione Oratoria: seu Vsu locorum, libri tres,* (and with some other rhetorical-dialectical writings), Strassburg: Johann Albert,

Ciceronian view of the value of rhetoric: "the composition of all history and every kind of speaking and writing arise and flow from these Ciceronian principles as from a seedbed."[20] We do not know whether Reisch was influenced by these claims in deciding to incorporate Celtes' treatise in his *Margarita,* or even by Celtes' rising reputation as an author and expert in the Humanities. He was perhaps moved primarily by the book's small scale, and the easy way it offered for digesting a subject in which he does not really appear to have much interest. Reisch was in Ingolstadt in May 1494 and probably acquired his copy of Celtes' book there.[21] But there is no evidence that he ever met Celtes personally or communicated in any way directly with him. Nevertheless, the first edition of the *Margarita* contains poems by Adam Werner and Dietrich Ulsen who did have such connections with Celtes. Ulsen in particular had been a member of Celtes' later Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana in Vienna and was, like Reisch, a Master at Freiburg (he became professor of medicine there in 1504).[22] Whatever Reisch's reasons were then for using Celtes' work, he gave it an unforeseen (and anonymous) divulgation through the *Margarita Philosophica.*

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Of the twenty-one chapters constituting the body of Reisch's *Tractatus I De partibus orationis rhetoricae* (c. 2-22), only chapter 8 (On Narration and Division) and chapter 16 (On Arranging the Parts of Speech [i.e. nouns, verbs etc. in sentences]) do not derive largely from Celtes. Likewise, chapter 23 (On Memory) stems from Celtes, though Reisch here extracts the bare essentials of Celtes' method and omits his explanations and examples. Reisch also revised and simplified Celtes'

1534, but with omission of the *Ars Memoratiua* and the *De modo epistolandi.* The former is replaced by a short treatise entitled *Memoriae Naturalis Confirmandae praecepta quaedam utilissima, et ex optimis quibusque autoribus deprompta* by M. Iohannes Mentzingerus who seems to be the editor of this Sammelbuch. Celtes' *De modo epistolandi* was reprinted by Phillipus Nutius in Antwerp, 1565, under the title *Methodus conficiendarum epistolarum* together with J. L. Vives' *De conscribendis epistolis* (the headwork in the book), Erasmus' *Compendium de conscribendis epistolis,* and Christoph Hegendorf's *Methodus conscribendi epistolas.*

[20]Letter to Maximilian, a2^r; the confusion of metaphors is Celtes'.

[21]He matriculated on May 9. He was probably there as the tutor of a young student placed in his charge, Franz Wolfgang, Count of Hohenzollern; cf. Münzel (above, note 1), pp. 3-4. Celtes himself returned to Ingolstadt the same month; Rupprich (above, note 15), p. 41.

[22]Cf. Hartfelder (above, note 1), pp. 178-179; Münzel pp. 11-27.

rather exotic mnemonic table.[23] Similarly the second Tractate *De condendis epistolis* is a simplified and occasionally improved abridgement of Celtes' *Tractatus de condendis epistolis.*

Reisch, however, was not a mere excerptor of another's work. He had an independent knowledge of rhetoric, and a different outlook on life from Celtes. He freely modifies Celtes' work, and here and there corrects it from his own reading of the two rhetorics. A detailed comparison is not possible here, but a few examples will illustrate both Celtes' epitomizing and Reisch's adaptations. In quoting these texts I have expanded abbreviations and corrected obvious typographical errors silently. Orthography and punctuation are those of the original editions.

1. On the constituent parts of Invention.

a) *Rhet. ad Her.* I. 2. 3 and 3. 4: Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium, quae causam probabilem reddant [cf. *De inv.* I. 7. 9] ... Inventio in sex partes [orationis] consumitur: in exordium, narrationem, divisionem, confirmationem, confutationem, conclusionem [cf. *De inv.* I. 14. 19].

b) Celtes (a5ᵛ): Est autem inventio verborum et rerum apta negociis excogitatio. Hec in exordium narrationem confirmationem et conclusionem absumitur ... Inventionis partes he sunt <:> Exordium. Narratio. Confirmatio. Particio. Conclusio.

c) Reisch (d7ᵛ = i7ʳ): Discipulus. Quid est inventio? Magister. Est verborum et rerum aperta [*sic!*] negociis excogitatio. Et habet has partes: Exordium: narrationem: diuisionem: confirmationem: confutationem: conclusionem.[24]

Though clearly dependent here on Celtes, Reisch has corrected and expanded Celtes' list of the parts of invention either from his own memory or by checking its source in the *Rhet. ad Her.*

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[23]Yates (above, note 18), p. 112, says this chapter was taken from Peter of Ravenna's *Phoenix, siue artificiosa memoria* (ed. pr., Venice 1491), but this was one of Grüninger's substitutions (cf. note 4). Grüninger's action in replacing Celtes' treatment, like Mentzinger's later (above, note 19), probably reflects some dissatisfaction with Celtes' novel approach. Reisch himself replaces Celtes' weird alphabet with a more conventional Roman one (omitted or dropped in the third edition) and also many of his image words. He seems to have felt the latter offensive in some respect. So he replaces Celtes' *bibulus* with *binder, fornicator* with *fossator.* The obscure *reciarius* is replaced by *regina* and *testamentarius* by *testator.* A sly substitution is *poeta* for *podagrosus.* Strange words like *kakademon, kerkitector, kinglios* (which is also obscene), *koradion* are replaced by common German ones.

[24]The typesetter apparently mistook the p in *apta* for p̤ (= *per*) or a piece of type

2. The epichireme.

a) *Rhet. ad Her.* II. 18. 28: Ergo absolutissima et perfectissima est argumentatio ea, quae in quinque partes est distributa: propositionem, rationem, rationis confirmationem, exornationem, conplexionem. Propositio est, per quam ostendimus summatim, quid sit quod probari volumus. Ratio est quae [causam] demonstrat verum esse id, quod intendimus, brevi subiectione. Rationis confirmatio est ea, quae pluribus argumentis corroborat breviter expositam rationem. Exornatio est, qua utimur rei honestandae et conlocupletandae causa, confirmata argumentatione. Conplexio est, quae concludit breviter, colligens partes argumentationis [cf. *De inv.* I. 37. 67].

b) Celtes (a7ʳ): Est autem ratiocinatio oratio ex ipsa re aliquid probabile eliciens [from *De inv.* I. 34. 57]: ea quintupertita est [*ibid.* or else from *Rhet. ad Her.* II. 18. 30] scilicet expositione:[25] expositionis comprobatione: ratione comprobationis: exornatione †illatone†:[26] et complectione. Expositio est qua summatim ostendimus quod summatim probare voluerimus. Exornatio est qua vtimur rei honestande vel locupletande causa: hec exemplo simili rebus iudicatis amplificationibus et exornationibus constat [cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* I. 29. 46]. Complexio est que breuiter concludens expedite partes argumentationis complectitur <.> verum si expositio perspicua est comprobatione et ratione supersedemus vt si summopere sapiencia appetenda est maximopere stulticia vitanda est [the example is from *De inv.* I. 37. 66]. Quod si causa parum locuples erit exornatione vtemur [cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* I. 19. 30]. vicia autem hec in exornatione vitanda sunt ne quod ab aliquo fit ab omnibus fieri dicamus [cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* I. 21. 32]. neu quod raro fit nunquam fieri ostendamus [*ibid.* 33]. Rationes non conuenientes exornationi[27] viciose sunt que non necessarie probabiles sunt [*Rhet. ad Her.* II. 23. 35] queque idem dicunt quod in expositione dictum est vel que alteri cause conueniunt [*Rhet. ad Her.* I. 29. 37].

c) Reisch (elʳ f. = i8ᵛ): Dis[cipulus]. Quid est ratiocinatio? Ma[gister]. Est oratio ex ipsa re aliquid probabile eliciens. Eam quintupertitam inuenies. scilicet: Expositione: expositionis con-

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was in the wrong place in his jobcase. Once introduced the error remains.

[25] *Expositio* replaces *propositio* at I. 20. 32 and elsewhere, so Celtes' use of *expositio* instead of *propositio* is to be expected; cf. *De inv.* I. 37. 67: *Propositio per quam locus is breviter exponitur.*

[26] *Illius comprobationis? illata ratione?* Cicero, *De inv.* I. 37. 67, defines this element of the epichireme as *per quam id quod adsumptum est rationibus firmatur.* Reisch evidently did not know what the text in Celtes meant and, following *Rhet. ad Her.* directly, omits it.

[27] An error for *expositioni,* probably made by Celtes himself.

clusione:[28] ratione: rationis confirmatione: exornatione: et complexione. Dis. Expositio (id est propositio quam maiorem dicimus) quid est? Mag. Est oratio qua summatim ostendimus quod summatim probare voluerimus. Dis. Exornatio quid est? Ma. Est oratio qua vtimur rei honestandę vel locupletandę causa. In ea summopere cauendum est: ne quod ab aliquo fit, ab omnibus fieri dicamus: aut quod raro fit, nunquam fieri ostendamus. Dis. Ratio (quae minor dicitur) quid est? Magister. Est causa quę demonstrat verum esse quod intendimus. Rationis autem confirmatio est quę multis argumentis corroborat breuiter expositam rationem. verum si expositio perspicua est: ratione et rationis comprobatione supersedemus. vt si summopere sapientia appetenda est: maxime stulticia vitanda est. Dis. Complexio (quę conclusio dicitur) quid est? Magi. Quę breuiter concludit ex dictis ita sentiendum vt propositum est. Sunt autem hę conclusiones non totius orationis, sed partium eius scilicet aut exordii: narrationis: argumentationis: conclusionis et epilogi [This last sentence is from *Rhet. ad Her.* II. 30. 97].

Celtes (or his source if he is not working directly from Cicero) omits the definitions of *expositionis comprobatio* and of *ratio,* and jumps ahead to the separate topic of the appropriate omission of individual parts of the epichireme in a particular argument. He then attaches to this topic the even later topic of defects (*vitia*) in the different parts of the epichireme. His epitome is thus sketchy in the extreme on this subject and verges on unintelligibility. Nevertheless, Reisch follows his sequence of topics, but then backtracks to fill in the missing definitions of *ratio* and *rationis confirmatio* which he takes directly from the *Rhet. ad Her.* He obviously did not notice that he was repeating the definition of *exornatio.* He also assimilates the "form" of the epichireme to the syllogism with its major and minor premises (the *discipulus* having studied Dialectic can do this). This (erroneous) idea leads him into thinking the *complexio* is analogous to the conclusion of the syllogism.[29] Since he has looked into the *Rhet. ad Her.* in order to make sense of Celtes' treatment, he is then led astray by the juxtaposition of the discussions of *complexio vitiosa* and of *conclusio* there (II. 29. 46 and 30. 47); the idea that 'conclusions' are used to round off the main parts of the speech has of course nothing to do with the epichireme.

3. *De coloribus sententiarum* (cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* IV. 35. 47-68).

In this section of his *Epitoma* (b2ᵛ - 3ᵛ), Celtes follows closely the list of nineteen figures of thought in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* but omits (presumably inadvertently) *contentio* (no. 9 in the Auctor's

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[28] *Sic;* he should have written *comprobatione.*

[29] *Conclusio* is sometimes used for *complexio* as in *Rhet. ad Her.* III. 9. 16.

treatment, *ibid.* 58) and *significatio* (no. 17, *ibid.* 67). He ends the section elegantly, if somewhat incorrectly, with *conclusio,* a figure of diction (cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* IV. 30. 41), and illustrates it with his own conclusion to the section (though drawing on *Rhet. ad Her.* again, IV. 56. 69). Reisch who, since he is following Celtes, likewise does not have *conclusio* in its proper place omits it here too, doubtless because it is not a figure of thought. Instead he adds the two figures missing from Celtes' discussion, but in the reverse order of their occurrence in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium:* first *significatio,* then *contentio.* It looks as though he went backwards through *Rhet. ad Her.* to check Celtes' accuracy and appended the two missing figures as he came to them. In place of Celtes' ending he says simply: *Hi sunt colores quibus (et si non omnibus saltem aliquibus) vti debet orator pro necessitate causę* [e5ᵛ = k4ᵛ].[30]

4. On Letter-writing.

Reisch again follows Celtes fairly closely in this part of his Book. But the changes he makes at certain points reveal the fundamental differences in the characters and interests of the two men. For example, Celtes divides all letters into the two major categories of *diuina* and *humana.* Letters on divine subjects are *coelestis, sacra* or *moralis* (b5ᵛ). He gives no examples of these types at this point, and only a brief treatment of them later on. "Divine" matters are clearly not his concern. Reisch fills the gap, drawing in part on Celtes' subsequent discussion (b6ᵛ):

> Diuinas [sc. epistolas] quidem voco: in quibus fidei mysteria, religionum ceremonię, dei cultus, morum atque virtutum seminaria exprimuntur: et vitiorum radices evelluntur. vti est videre in epistolis sanctorum Pauli, Hieronymi, Augustini, Cypriani, Bernardi et Senecę philosophi moralissimi: atque aliorum plurium huius ordinis hominum [e7ʳ f. = k6ᵛ].

Celtes divides "human" letters into *grauia, consolatoria, amatoria,* and *amica* (that is, *familiares*); *amica* are subdivided into *commendaticia* and *hortatoria.* He gives brief definitions or descriptions of the contents of each class. We have a love letter, for instance, when *dulcia exhilarancia et exultancia ad amorem pertinencia petulanter et amorosi scribimus.* Reisch follows Celtes' ordering of the classes, though he replaces the friendly letter class with its two species, elevating them in effect to separate classes. He tends to simplify the descriptions or definitions, and generally omits all the examples. Celtes' exuberant love letter

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[30]Reisch's revision of Celtes' *Ars Memoratiua* is a good illustration of his free handling of his source, but what he does is too complicated to be analyzed satisfactorily here.

becomes, not surprisingly, simply (and sexless): *amatoria: qua verbis petulantibus amorem alterius in nos concitamus.* But Reisch waves a humanist flag when he adds: *Preter hec* [quatuor siue quinque genera] *autem multa alia sunt epistolarum genera a Mario Philelfo eloquentia preclara, ad octogenarium usque numerum digesta* [e7ᵛ = k6ᵛ].[31] He later adds as recommended authors of letter collections the names of Gasparino Barzizza[32] and Cicero, "the father of eloquence," *quibus te daturum operam velim quam maximam. Nihil enim in scribendo tam clarum aut promptum facit, quam diligenter legisse eos qui bene, limate terseque scripserunt. ab aliis vero vt a labe atque pernicie ingenii fugiendum est* (e8ʳ = k7ʳ). The last part of this sentence is taken from Celtes (b6ᵛ f.).

A major part of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century (and earlier) manuals on letter-writing is concerned with the proper address to the recipient. Celtes separates this topic from the salutation where it is usually discussed, because his recommended form of the salutation is based on the simple classical model (N. sends greetings to N.), and associates it with punctuation as something external to the content of the letter, presumably because the address goes on the back or outside of the letter. He organizes the *dignitatis tituli* into three major *ordines* (social ranks): ecclesiastics, the nobility and urban patriciate, members of the university community. Each *ordo* has a principal representative: pope, emperor, and theologians respectively; and three suborders in which the sundry recipients of a letter are classified by social status and appropriate titles suggested for them. The most interesting feature of this scheme is the classification of "poets," that is, university lecturers in literature, as the first suborder under professors of theology in the university community. Needless to say, this ranking hardly corresponds to their real status. Appended at the end, like an afterthought, and

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[31] An edition of Giovanni Mario Filelfo's *Novum Epistularium* was published by Johann Amerbach in Basle in 1495 with the title *Epistolare Marii Philelfi* (note Reisch's spelling of the name). The Charterhouse at Buxheim had a copy which is now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California (Acc. no. 93594). Reisch was prior of this house in 1500-1501 and may have seen this very copy, though its near mint condition suggests it was little if ever read by anyone. The letter-books of the two Filelfi are scathingly dismissed by Vives: *Huic* [sc. Gasparino Barzizza] *succedunt ... lingua tersiores* [than Leonardo Aretino] *Philelphi duo, pater et filius, sententiis inanes et subfrigidi nec compositione satis grata* (above, note 19), fol. 37b.

[32] Barzizza is cited by Celtes as a writer of letters in the *grave genus* (b7ʳ). The *Exercitium puerorum grammaticale* (above, note 9), Tract. II, cap. 1, recommends for reading practice *parue epistole virorum magis probatorum electe ex Cicerone, papa Pio* [Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini], *philelpho* [Francesco or Mario?] *aut magistro karolo.* For Barzizza cf. Ludwig Bertalot, "Die älteste Briefsammlung des Gasparinus Barzizza," in Paul O. Kristeller, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus,* vol. 2 (Rome 1975), pp. 31-102.

essentially outside the main scheme, are relatives and women.

Reisch jettisons this whole business. (He also omits the treatment of punctuation, which he perhaps thought belonged to some other
subject and part of the curriculum. In fact, he does not discuss punctuation anywhere in the *Margarita*.) He preserves, however, the social
distinctions underlying Celtes' classifications; he could hardly do otherwise. He also takes over many of Celtes' proposed "titles," though he
frequently revises them in the direction of simplicity and clarity. In
particular, he is much less fulsome than Celtes in his adjectives and
terms for the Holy Roman Emperor and the other members of the
nobility. It would seem that the Carthusian monk is not much
impressed by the claims and pretensions of the German aristocracy.
Moreover, Reisch adds a list of epithets for *ciues*, a social group ignored
by Celtes except for city officials and the patriciate. Reisch's suggested
epithets for ordinary citizens — *prudentes, sagaces, industrii, integerrimi*
— make a striking contrast with the adjectives suitable for knights —
aurati, magnanimi, strenui, validi, fortes, nobiles. One may surmise that
Reisch put a higher value on the intellectual capacity of townsfolk than
on the physical prowess of the barons, and esteemed the two groups
accordingly.

As we might expect, he also puts the Poets in their proper place
in the university hierarchy, after the professors of the three higher
faculties, but ahead of the masters of arts or regents.[33] He also adds a
class of *Oratores* whom one can call *disertissimi* or *facundissimi*. These
same epithets may also be used of *poetae*. Reisch seems to view
university lecturers in Humanities as a single group, regardless of
whether they are known officially or by their own claims as "poets" or
"orators." Their defining characteristic is *eloquentia*. We are reminded
of the unified view of literature under the dominion of Rhetorica which
appears in the headpiece for Book III. On the other hand, Reisch certainly discounts much of the extravagant claims made by Celtes for the
poets. Celtes' poets, who possess both knowledge and authority, are to
be addressed as

> vates, musarum alumni, lauro insignes, hedera decorati, Apollini sa
> crati, Phoebi interpretes, rerum naturae scientes, historiae patres,
> divini, literaturae modulatores, sacro numine afflati, gravissimi,
> iucundissimi, ornatissimi, celeberrimi, eloquentissimi, facundissimi,
> Romanae linguae principes, humani eloquii ductores, disertissimi,

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[33]At Freiburg the *poetae* were mostly lecturers in the Faculty of Law; cf. Heath
(above, note 8), p. 32. Hence they were inferior to the professors. Elsewhere they were
more likely to be attached to the Faculty of Arts and consequently again lower in rank
than the professors and other members of the higher faculties.

copiosissimi.

Reisch's poets are limited to

> vates, musarum alumni, lauro insignes, hedera decorati, Apollinis in-
> terpretes, ornatissimi, eloquentissimi, facundissimi.

The claim to divine inspiration, to authority in matters of language, to independent knowledge of history and natural philosophy is quietly discarded. Here we may prefer to side with Celtes, although in the context of his own times Reisch probably shows the more realistic attitude. His attitude toward this whole practice is stated simply at the end of the chapter and the Tractate on letter-writing:

> Haec summarie dicta sufficiant. Nam assentandi, adulandiue causa
> hęc omnia ita variata cernes: vt perpaucos reperire possis qui non ti-
> tulos superiorum inferioribus attribuant [f1ʳ = k8ʳ].

Though Celtes likewise terms the practice a form of flattery and evidence of the puerile barbarism of the times (b6ᵛ), the Carthusian prior's basic view of human society differs considerably from that of the patron- and job-seeking poet.[34]

<p style="text-align:center">*
* *</p>

These examples of the two authors' approach to their common subject matter should be enough to reveal their methods, which still deserve perhaps to be investigated in further detail. These epitomes, however, are not very impressive as manuals of rhetoric. Their very scale inevitably makes them too sketchy and superficial to be truly worthwhile, much less fully instructive in the elements of the art. Probably their most significant feature is the reversal of the ranking of the *genera causarum,* found in both the *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* and traditional in the whole body of classical rhetoric. In Celtes and Reisch demonstrative oratory occupies the first place and judicial oratory the last. Celtes gives as much space to demonstrative speaking as to deliberative and judicial combined. This represents no doubt the humanistic outlook of the fifteenth century, and probably corresponds to contemporary needs and practice. Demonstrative speaking and writing give the humanist orator the opportunity to display his (and sometimes her) language skills to the utmost. As Celtes observes,

> est quo nullum aliud orationis genus vberius ad dicendum: aut vtilius
> ciuitatibus esse possit aut in quo magis in cognitione virtutum vi-

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[34]Reisch's religious outlook appears sporadically elsewhere in Book III; cf. d7ʳ, d8ʳ, e6ʳ, e7ʳ = i6ʳ, i7ʳ, k5ᵛ, k6ʳ respectively.

ciorumque versetur oratio. Consumitur autem hoc orationis genus narrandis exponendisque factis et rebus gestis. Et quoniam in hac causa omnis oratio fere ad voluptatem auditoris et ad delectationem refertur vtendum erit verbis insignibus venustis et in ipsa verborum constructione perpolitis vt paria paribus et similia similibus referantur (a3^r).

Reisch, whose interests lie elsewhere[35] and who would himself apparently think of rhetoric as useful primarily for preachers, omits all of this statement, except the sentence on narrating and expounding exploits to which he adds *bonis aut malis.*

The two epitomes, and especially Reisch's, have one further significance for us. They attest the low estate to which rhetoric had fallen in the universities of northern Europe, despite the powerful claims made in the iconography of this Liberal Art or the exaggerated assertions of a Celtes. There is little point in making rhetoric the seedbed of eloquence if one is not going to make the necessary effort to prepare the soil. Though Reisch is often, and to some extent rightly, praised for his humanistic bent, he is basically a scholastic, and seems unaware of or else essentially indifferent to the fundamental issues posed by the humanists.[36] Though Celtes is ultimately responsible for the low quality of this survey of rhetoric, Reisch obviously had no desire to set his sights any higher. In this he doubtless reflected the educational views and expectations of his contemporaries, at least in upper Germany. It may not be too harsh to call these works the nadir of the classical tradition of rhetoric in northern Europe. But the very generation for which Celtes and Reisch were writing would soon change this situation.

Appendix

A list of the sections and chapter headings in Celtes' *Epitoma* and Reisch's *Margarita* shows the scope of the two works and the extent of Reisch's dependence on Celtes. Reisch numbers each section and chapter of his Book; Celtes gives only headings. In the following *Appendix* Celtes is cited in the left-hand column, and Reisch in the right.

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[35]His main interests seem to have been in mathematics, natural science, and theology. Cf. the studies cited in note 1 above.

[36]Cf. Heath (above, note 8), pp. 33-34.

Epitoma...cum preceptis et locis constitutionum et orationum...	Libri III.Tractatus primus De partibus orationis rhetorice.
De generibus causarum	1. Quid Rhetorica: a quo primo tradita: quid rhetor: quid rhetoris officium: et quot genera causarum.
De oratione demonstratiua constituenda et a quibus locis	2. De Oratione demonstratiua et a quibus locis constituenda sit.
De oratione deliberatiua constituenda et a quibus locis	3. De Oratione deliberatiua: et a quibus locis constituenda.
De oratione iudiciali constituenda et a quibus locis	4. De Oratione iudiciali: et a quibus locis constituenda.
De quinque partibus orationis	5. De Partibus orationis in genere.
De exordiendi narrandi confirmandique preceptis	6. De Inuentione et eiusdem partibus.
	7. De Exordio.
	8. De narratione et diuisione.
	9. De confirmatione: confutatione: et constitutione [i.e. stasis]
De argumentatione qua circa confirmationes nostras vtimur	10. De Argumentatione.
De disponendi et concludendi rationibus	11. De Conclusione.
	12. De Dispositione.
De elocutione	13. De Elocutione

	14. De Elegantia
	15. De compositione litterarum syllabarum et dictionum.
	16. De Compositione partium orationis.
De orationis dignitate	17. De Dignitate orationis et verborum exornationibus.
[Heading is omitted]	18. De aliis verborum exornationibus quibus non eadem verba sed verborum vis effertur.
De aliis exornationibus	19. De exornationibus verborum simplicioribus.
	20. De reliquis verborum exornationibus sententiis admixtis.
De coloribus sententiarum	21. De Sententiarum coloribus.
De pronunciatione	22. De pronunciatione penultima parte orationis rhetoricalis.
De artificiali memoria. [Cf. infra]	23. De Memoria. Exemplum Memoriae artificialis sive localis.
Tractatus de condendis epistolis.	Libri III. Tractatus secundus De Epistolis condendis.
Epistolarum diuisio	1. De Epistolarum diuisione.
De partibus epistole.	2. De Partibus epistole.
De inicio constituendo	3. De Salutatione.

4. De Exordio.

De causa et narratione quae per expositionem fit.

5. De Narratione.[37]

De enumeratione.

6. De Conclusione

De caractere [i.e. punctuation and the outside address]

7. De Superscriptione.

Peroratio [to the *Epitoma*]

[Reisch ends: Vale. et in his finem Triuii statuendum agnosce.]

Sequuntur elementa siue caracteres memoratiue artis secundum loca et imagines non sine industria in lati-nas literas inuente.

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[37]This chapter is the heart of Celtes' treatment of letter-writing; Reisch omits al-most all of it!

14

Is it Really the Accusative?
A Century-Old Controversy Revisited

PAUL A. GAENG

The stages involved in the disintegration of the classical Latin system of declensions and its evolution during the centuries that preceded the "birth" of the Romance languages have been adequately outlined by leading Romanists of both past and present. The undisputed master of Romance linguistics in our century, Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, summed up the opinion of his generation when he insisted on the Latin accusative as being the Romance "Normalkasus," with due allowances for the Latin nominative as reflected, for instance, in the *cas sujet* of Old French and Old Provençal and the plurals of Italian and Rumanian nouns.[1] Anchored in the Diezian theory of the Latin accusative as the progenitor of the Old French and Old Provençal oblique case and the single case forms of the other Romance languages, Meyer-Lübke's view that, except for sporadic instances of nominative derivation, the Romance noun is, in essence, a survival of classical Latin accusative forms both in the singular and the plural has generally prevailed, despite an occasional voice offering convincing arguments to the contrary.

The first scholars on record to challenge this "accusative theory" were the Italians D'Ovidio and Ascoli. The former, the catalyst for the subsequent declensional combat waged by Ascoli and Meyer-Lübke, set out to show in his *Sull'origine dell'unica flessione del nome* (1872), that the post-classical form *servo* comprised not a single case but the classical nominative *servus*, dative/ablative *servo*, and accusative *servum*, in the singular, and that the plural *servi* represented classical nominative *servi* and the dative/ablative *servis*. As to the genitive singular *servi* and

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[1] *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* (Leipzig 1890-1902), Vol. II, pp. 25-27.

the accusative plural *servos,* these forms were simply dropped, under pressure of the surviving cases.[2] What the Italian scholar claimed, in other words, was that the single case of Italian forms like *servo, buono, morte,* (or Spanish *siervo, bueno, muerte* for that matter) does not represent a particular case of the classical Latin declension that pre vailed because of some logical or intentional reason ("per una ragione logica o intenzionale"), but is rather a phonological outcome of the fusion of two oblique cases (accusative and ablative) which prevailed in the spoken language of the Empire (e.g. *morte(m), de morte*); joined by the nominative in the case of the first declension singular (e.g. *ala, ad ala(m), de ala*), and that a similar process occurred in the plural, except that where phonetic equivalence was not possible the choice of the sur viving form was aided by analogical pressure, as when *servos* was suppressed in Italian by a coalition of *servi* and *servis.*

Despite Ascoli's vigorous defense and support of D'Ovidio's *dot-trina,*[3] based primarily upon the development of imparisyllabic third declension neuter nouns in the Romance languages, Romance linguists have continued to toe the traditional Diezian line, basing themselves mainly on deductive retracements from the Romance languages to a hypothetical Vulgar Latin or to attested classical forms (or merely repeating what their predecessors had said), with little or no reference to the written documents of the period involved.[4]

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[2]Reported also in Meyer-Lübke, *ibid.,* p. 27.

[3]Review of F. D'Ovidio's study in *Archivio Glottologico Italiano,* 2 (1876), pp. 416-38. Ascoli dealt with this problem also in subsequent studies: cf. *Archivio* 3 (1878), pp. 466-67; 4 (1878), pp. 398-402; and 10 (1888), pp. 262-69.

[4]Most standard manuals on Romance linguistics have continued to adhere to the Meyer-Lübkian view. Typical in this connection is the statement by W. Elcock: "If, in giving Latin etyma, it is usual to quote the accusative, this is because the accusative case alone was normally the source of the modern Romance substantive" (*The Romance Languages,* [2nd ed., London 1975], p. 73). In the same vein E. Bourciez states, in his classic *Eléments de linguistique romane* (4th ed., Paris 1956), that the accusative is "le cas des mots latins conservé d'ordinaire en roman" (p. 746 and *passim*). He traces the ab sorption of the other cases by the accusative as far back as the first century of our era and illustrates this phenomenon with the single example *Saturninus cum discentes* (p. 87), an example that, to my mind, has been overworked to show the alleged early use of the accusative with all prepositions and its generalized use in all oblique functions. Cf. G. Alessio (*Le origini del francese,* Firenze 1946) who, with reference to the construction *de tempulo* for the expected *templi* found on a fifth century Christian inscription makes the rather startling comment "che mostra il genitivo latino sostituito de *de* con l'accusativo" (p. 93); cf. also Maria Iliescu, "Gibt es einen 'casus generalis'?" *Revue roumaine de linguistique,* 16: 4 (1971), pp. 327-331, who argues in favor of the accusative as the sole *casus praepositionalis* in Late Latin. — Meyer-Lübke's imprint is also quite pronounced with C. H. Grandgent (*An Introduction to Vulgar Latin,* repr. New York 1962), who con cludes that in Gaul and Spain the forms preserved were the accusative singular and the

The persistence of the belief that the Romance noun derives primarily from the Latin accusative is all the more surprising since, in the intervening years (certainly since the publication of Meyer-Lübke's *Grammatik*) a number of works have appeared concerned with a direct study of Latin documents, casting serious doubts on the "accusative theory" in favor of what we might call an "oblique case theory," what Ascoli had already referred to as the "teoria dell'unico obliquo"; Haag's *Die Latinität Fredegars* (1898), Schramm's *Sprachliches zur Lex Salica* (1911), Taylor's *The Latinity of the Liber Francorum* (1924), Pei's *Language of the Eighth-Century Documents of Northern France* (1932), and Sas' *The Noun Declension System in Merovingian Latin* (1937) come readily to mind. Indeed, the evidence that these researchers cull from their respective documents seems to point rather clearly to the fact that *one* case with a form ending in either *-a, -o,* or *-e* has developed in the singular as a substitute for all classical Latin cases, except the nominative (in a ratio of nearly 200 forms in *-a, -o,* and *-e,* as against 15 forms in *-am, -um,* and *-em* in the *Historia Francorum*), and with *-as, -os, -es,* or *-is* in the plural.[5]

In an article entitled "Accusative or Oblique" which, to my mind, has not received from Romance scholars the attention and credit which it deserves, and has been generally neglected in the discussions of the derivation of the Romance noun, Mario Pei[6] addresses himself to what he calls "a time-honored controversy in the field of Romance philology, to wit, whether the oblique case of Old French and Old Provençal, as well as the single case of other Romance languages, is the direct descendant of the Classical Latin accusative, with the other oblique cases of Classical Latin thrown into the discard; or the result of a merger of Classical Latin accusative, ablative, and dative, brought about by the phonetic equivalence of the singular ending in two of the three major declensions, and then gradually extended, by a syntactical process of analogy, to cover the dative singular of the first declension, the genitive singular of the three declensions, and those plural forms which could not phonetically coalesce" (p. 242). Pei reviews and critically comments upon each of the four major arguments advanced by supporters of the "accusative theory:"

1) Monosyllabic words with final *-m* (Fr. *rien, mon, ton, son;* Sp. *quien;* It. *speme*) indicate the accusative form. Pei cites examples in which this final

accusative plural, while in Italy and Rumania the surviving cases are the accusative singular and the nominative plural (p. 156).

[5]Cf. Mario Pei, *The Language of the Eighth-Century Texts in Northern France* (New York 1932), pp. 212-13.

[6]*Romanic Review,* 28 (1937), pp. 241-67.

consonant is not retained, as in Italian dialectical forms *mo, ma, to, ta* or French *ma, ta, sa*, and wonders whether retention of final *-m* in monosyllabic words, rather than providing the survival of the accusative pure and simple, would not merely point to the survival of *certain* accusative forms, and nothing more.

2) Logudorese, which keeps final *-o* and *-u* distinct (*otto, amo* versus *chentu, cantamus*) has a form ending in *-u* for second declension nouns and adjectives (*oru, chelu, duru, plenu*). Pei thinks that the phonetic conflict between final *-o* and *-u* outcomes for second declension nouns and adjectives seems to have been a long one, judging from reports by Wagner and Meyer-Lübke himself,[7] as well as the earliest Sardinian documents, until the *-o* endings succumbed to *-u* endings, proving at best that in the sole instance where phonetic merger of the oblique cases was not possible, the accusative prevailed. "And this," Pei adds, "in a single region of Romance territory, very limited in extent and almost severed from communication with the rest of the Latin-speaking world at the very time when the all-important process of declensional change was beginning" (p. 245).

3) Various Italian dialects which admit umlaut indicate that the final vowel that causes umlaut in the singular is *-u*, not *-o*, e.g., southern Italian BŎNŬ > buonə, which distinguishes masculine singular from feminine bonə < BŎNA. Without rejecting Meyer-Lübke's attempt to prove that where umlaut appears in certain south and central Italian dialects the final vowel causing the umlaut is *-u*, not *-o*,[8] Pei points out that examples in which the umlaut appears to have been produced by a final *-o* to the exclusion of *-u* are not wanting.[9]

4) Imparisyllabic neuter third-declension nouns develop into the Romance languages from the accusative, not from the ablative form. Pei devotes the bulk of his article to this, what he calls "the crux of the question," to wit the survival of accusative and ablative forms of these nouns where accusative and ablative could not phonetically merge and the conflict had to be solved along lines of individual choice. We are presented with a complete study of the Romance descendants of 135 third declension imparisyllabic neuter nouns given in Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* and Körting's *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch,* including both attested and hypothetical forms, which purports to evaluate the opposing views of Ascoli, the champion of the oblique case theory, and Meyer-Lübke, the defender of the accusative case doctrine. Let us recall, parenthetically, that Ascoli had presented in various studies devoted to this very question a large number of ablative survivals,

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[7]Pei cites M.-L. Wagner, *Lautlehre der südsardischen Mundarten* (Halle a.S 1907), p. 17, and W. Meyer-Lübke, *Zur Kenntnis des Altlogudoresischen* (Wien 1902), p. 13.

[8]Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik,* I, pp. 99 and 132.

[9]Cf. also G. Ascoli, *Archivio,* 10 (1888), pp. 260-71, specifically his statement "Nell'Italia meridionale l'-*o* riagisce sulle tonica al modo dell'-*i*" (p. 264).

setting them off against an approximately equal number of accusative survivals, and concluded that this indecision of the Romance languages in the case where phonetic fusion was impossible furnished proof of his "oblique case theory."[10] Meyer-Lübke, in his refutation, undertook to destroy Ascoli's ablative examples by claiming, in some cases, transfer from the neuter to the masculine gender, in others that the forms alleged by Ascoli were learned, in others that the forms adduced were reconstructed from the plural or from verbs, and still in others that a Vulgar Latin form coexisted side by side with the attested form; and when here and there an ablative form presented itself for which no explanation was possible, the form was labeled as exceptional and unaccounted for.[11]

For his analysis, Pei classifies third declension imparisyllabic neuter nouns into three general types, each of which presents peculiar possibilities of development. These are: (1) nouns that are monosyllabic in the nominative-accusative and disyllabic in the other oblique case, e.g., *far, farre* 'grain, spelt'; (2) polysyllabic nouns that shift the stress from nominative/accusative to the other oblique cases, the *ánimal, animále* type; and (3) polysyllabic nouns in which the position of the stress is retained throughout, the *cáput, cápite* type, which includes the numerous *-men, -mine* group of neuters of the *aerámen, aerámine* type also. After examining corresponding Romance developments of nouns in each of these categories, Pei draws the following conclusions, based on his observations:

1) Developments in the small monosyllabic group suggest an approximately equal number of apparent accusative and ablative survivals. Pei considers the double development of Lat. FEL in It. *fele* (acc.) and *felle* (abl.) to be significant in this connection.

2) Nouns of the stress-shifting type tend toward the ablative derivation, but there is a sufficient number of accusative survivals: OFr. *erre, oirre,* and It. *erre* from Lat. ITER, which indicate that a conflict existed here also.

3) By reason of its numbers and its variety, Pei breaks up the third class of nouns (polysyllabic with no shift of stress) into sub-types: (a) nouns of the *nomen* type indicate a preference for the accusative in Rumanian, Italian, Rhetian, French, and Provençal and for the ablative in Spanish (*pos nomine* in a mid-7th century inscription), and, possibly, Portuguese,[12] with double development in Sardinian (derivation from *-men* and *-mene* or *-mine*) and enough forms running counter to the general trend to give definite evidence of conflict; (b) nouns of the *-or, -ur* type (e.g., *marmor, fulgur*) indicate at least as many ablative as accusative derivations, in addition to showing double developments

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[10]See the references in note 3, above.

[11]*Grammatik* II, pp. 12-16, 19-20.

[12]Cf. M. Pei, "Accusative versus Oblique in Portuguese," *Romanic Review,* 30 (1939), pp. 189-91.

in the same language, as in It. *marmo* and *marmore* or *zolfo* and *solforo;* (c) both ablative and accusative derivations for *-us, -ere* type nouns as in It. *genere,* Fr. *genre* (Sp. and Port. *genero* being learned forms) versus OFr. *giens,* Prov. *gens* or Fr. *oeuvre* versus It. *uopo,* OProv./Cat. *ops,*[13] while for nouns in *-ús* of the *corpus, pectus, tempus* type Pei finds a majority of accusative derivations which he explains as due, in part, to a natural tendency of such nouns to become confused with second-declension masculines. He points out that there are numerous ablative survivals in this group of nouns also.

Pei's evidence rather clearly suggests that where accusative and ablative forms could not coincide, a conflict occurred in each of the three general types of neuter imparisyllabics, a conflict which persists to this day. This fact, rather than weakening, actually strengthens the stance taken by proponents of the "oblique case theory" since they can freely concede any number of accusative survivals, provided they can show at the same time a considerable body of ablative survivals to counterbalance derivations from the accusative, while defenders of the "accusative theory," in order to establish their point, find themselves compelled to disprove all, or nearly all, ablative survivals. In summary, then, the "oblique theorist" holds that accusative and ablative (and in some cases dative too) merged in the singular where phonetically possible, but that where such phonetic fusion was not possible, a conflict arose between the two forms, one or the other being forced to yield. This conflict, as Pei remarks, "arising at a time when the bonds that held the Empire together were loosened, could perfectly well have a different solution in different portions of the Romance area, Italian, for instance, preferring the accusative form of a given word while Spanish chose the ablative" (p. 244).[14]

As stated earlier, Pei and his contemporaries find ample confirmation of the oblique case thesis in late Vulgar Latin texts, thus presenting a serious challenge to the traditional point of view that the accusative case alone was normally the source of the Romance noun. There is little doubt in my mind that the researches of these scholars have been instrumental in modifying some Romanists' earlier position

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[13]Meyer-Lübke (*Grammatik* II, p. 14) claimed that ablative forms in this noun category were learned forms.

[14]In his study entitled "Neuters, Mass-Nouns and the Ablative in Romance" (*Language* 44 [1968], pp. 480-86), Robert Hall, Jr. makes a convincing case for the ablative derivation of mass-nouns in Ibero- and Italo-Romance dialects, thereby not only recognizing the ablative as a viable case form in Proto-Romance but, to my mind, also furnishing additional ammunition to those who oppose the accusative theory.

on this issue.[15]

For the balance of this paper, I should like to summarize briefly my own findings based on an analysis of inscriptional material and what it reveals in terms of the accusative versus oblique controversy. The corpus chosen for my demonstration is made up of Latin Christian inscriptions published in Ernst Diehl's *Inscriptiones Latinae Veteres*,[16] about 5,000 in number from all areas of the Western Roman Empire, covering the period from about the end of the third century to the early seventh century. The data are taken from my recent study of nominal inflection in Latin inscriptions.[17] For reasons that, I hope, will become obvious I will treat singular and plural separately. Here, then, is the evidence:

1) The -*a* spelling of first declension nouns and adjectives in direct object (accusative) function and with prepositions which, in accordance with traditional grammar, would require the accusative case, outweighs the expected -*am* spelling. This suggests that Latin accusative and ablative have completely merged in speech to a single /a/ phoneme as a sort of "Universalkasus" serving several syntactic oblique functions, represented in writing by either -*a* or *am*, depending on the writer's training in formal grammar or school reminiscences, his *Bildungserlebnis*. Thus, he may attach an occasional -*m* to his spoken language form in /a/ because of its constant occurrence in readings that he may have done. This blurring of case consciousness is particularly evident in the indeterminate use of forms in -*a* and -*am* after prepositions (with a definite trend towards a universal -*a*, however, e.g. *ad mesa* [2128 a. 409], *ad vita* [1454B], with many hypercorrections like *cum virginiam suam* [4251], *cum uxorem suam* [2883 a. 360], as well as hybrid constructions of the *ad veram vita*[4827], or *cum compare suam* [374] kind).

[15]Thus, for instance, Veikko Väänänen who in his *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes* (originally published in 1937 [Helsinki], now in its third edition [Berlin 1966]) still concludes that "Le système casuel est en train de se réduire...l'accusatif est en voie de devenir le cas oblique par excellence, qui supplante de plus en plus l'ablatif comme régime des prépositions ab et cum..." (p. 129). In his classic manual *Introduction au latin vulgaire* (first published in 1963 [Paris], now in its third edition [Paris 1981]) the Finnish scholar is less rigorous in his approach to this problem when he concludes that "L'accusatif comme origine du régime roman ne fait pas de doute pour le pluriel" (p. 116), while in the singular the common denominator of oblique forms where old Latin case endings were lost "est un cas oblique syncrétique," the point of departure being the accusative in competition with the ablative where these case endings do not coincide (p. 117).

[16]In three volumes (2nd ed., Berlin 1961) with a supplement edited by J. Moreau and H. I. Marrou (Berlin 1967).

[17]Paul A. Gaeng, *A Study of Nominal Inflection in Latin Inscriptions; a Morpho-Syntactic Analysis* (Chapel Hill 1977).

2) The situation in the singular of second declension nouns and adjectives is complicated by the fact that many forms in both classical accusative and ablative functions are spelled with *-u*, although apparent accusative forms in *-o* both after verbs and prepositions (traditionally requiring a form in *-um*) are amply attested, as in *voto suo fecet* (1927 a. 470), *titulo posuerunt* (4160), *contra voto* (338a a. 546), and such hybrids as *contra votum suo* (756). As I have attempted to show elsewhere,[18] it is futile to try to determine whether orthographic *-u* represents a classical accusative form with final *-m* omitted or an ablative, since with the disappearance of *-m,* forms like *votu* and *voto* fell together in pronunciation as /voto/,[19] bringing about a collapse of accusative/ablative distinction, even though a formal distinction may still have been observed on the orthographic level. The orthographic uncertainty in the use of correct case endings after prepositions and the consequent hypercorrections of the *cum maritum* (4219B a. 392) and *in hoc tumulum* (3550 a. 511) kind, hybrid constructions like *contra votum suo* (756), or the concurrent use of the constructions *cum virginium suum* and *cum virginio suo* on the same stone (1263 a/b), would further seem to strengthen my conclusion that in the singular of this declension also there had emerged in the spoken language a single *oblique* case form on the level of content, in which semantic relationship was no longer bound to morphological distinction, neither accusative nor ablative, but a "Universalkasus" which fulfilled the functions of dative, accusative, ablative, and, in some instances, also genitive.

3) The state of affairs found in the singular of first declension nouns and adjectives is paralleled in the third declension. In fact, the ratio of clearly predominating forms in *-e* in classical accusative functions, with respect to the expected forms in *-em,* is even more pronounced than in the first declension. In addition to the plethora of forms in *-e* to signal direct object function, as in *ut urbe videret* (4812A), *maledictione a vea* (= *habeat*) (3852), *queius fidelitatem et castitate et bonitate experti sunt* (2157), showing forms in *-e* and *-em* used in the same function, constructions like *post morte* (846 ca. 6th cent.), *propter caritate* (554), *ad fratre et sorore* (3748), orthographic hypercorrections like *pro caritatem* (1374, 2252, 4161) and *cum coniugem* (passim), as well as hybrids like *cum parem suo* (4238) lead to the legitimate conclusion that here too a generalized oblique case form in /e/ had emerged which, in various syntactic functions, on the plane of expression, was represented by written forms in *-e* or *-em.*

[18]Paul A. Gaeng, "Interpreting Second Declension Forms in *-u,*" *Illinois Classical Studies* IV (1979), pp. 214-19.

[19]Cf. Gaeng, *Nominal Inflection,* pp. 99-101.

4) The evidence culled from the study of first, second, and third declension plurals presents a picture that is different from the singular, in that in all three declensions it is the classical accusative form (or what appears to be the classical accusative) that tends to supplant other oblique cases: *cum filias suas* (4559 a. 518), *ad duus fratres* (150), *cum filios* (2366A), *cum tuos omnes* (2192D), *cum sororis* (= *sorores*) *suas* (808), *con parentes* (3829), *pro fratres et sodales tuos* (2343), etc. This finding seems to be in accord with generally accepted theory.[20] But, just because the oblique "Universalkasus" in the plural happens to coincide with the accusative form, is it legitimate to apply the "accusative theory" to the singular also? My inscriptional evidence clearly suggests that the "Universalkasus" in the singular represents rather a merger of Latin accusative/ablative into a single spoken form, namely /a/, /o/, and /e/ in the respective declensional classes (with a possible allophonic /u/ in the second declension) represented in writing by forms in *-a, -o, (-u)*, and *-e*, as well as residual *-am, -um*, and *-em*, used in a variety of syntactic functions. The conclusions drawn from my own and other similar evidence mentioned earlier in this paper which argues against a universal accusative derivation of the Romance noun in the *singular*, in no way precludes individual survivals of the classical accusative case, as, for instance, the form *rem* used invariably in both direct and all prepositional functions (*de rem sua* [521, ca. 4th/5th cent.]), or the imparisyllabics of the *corpus* and *nomen* types, just as there are sporadic survivals of the classical nominative, genitive and ablative/locative, e.g. *Florentiae*.[21]

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[20]See Väänänen's conclusions on this point in note 15 above. Cf. also Theodoro Maurer (*Gramática do latim vulgar*, Rio de Janeiro 1959): "De fato, a documentação epigrafica...nos da o acusativo no plural quase sem exceção" (p. 89).

[21]Despite persistent voices to the contrary, e.g., Thomas A. Lathrop, *The Evolution of Spanish*, Newark, Del. 1980 ("...of the five main cases of Classical Latin only two [the nominative and the accusative] were used in Vulgar Latin" [p. 21]), the conclusion that the Romance noun, at least in the *singular*, represents a merger of various *casus obliqui*, rather than a universal survival of the Latin accusative in all syntactic functions, is echoed in some recent articles and manuals that either directly deal with or touch upon this problem. Most note-worthy are an essay by Robert Hall, Jr., "The Gradual Decline of Case in Romance Substantives," in Frans van Coetsem and Linda R. Waugh, edd., *Contributions to Historical Linguistics*, Leiden 1980, pp. 261-69 (where the theory of accusative derivation of the Romance noun is referred to as an "oversimplified view" of the facts), a brief study by Ralph Penny, "Do Romance Nouns Descend from the Accusative? Preliminaries to a Reassessment of the Noun-Morphology of Romance," *Romance Philology*, 34:4 (1980), pp. 501-09 (in which the author terms "inadequate" the notion that Romance nouns descend from the Latin accusative), and the excellent three-volume *Grammatica storia dell'italiano*, Bologna 1980, by Pavao Tekavčić, who also resolutely concludes: "Derivare i sostantivi romanzi da un solo caso latino non ci pare possibile nè metodologicamente esatto: finchè i casi esistono e funzionano, è inconcepibile che un ac-

In connection with the plural oblique forms in -as, -os, and -es continued in those Romance dialects where plurality is marked by -s, Ascoli suggested that forms like *barbas, bonos,* and *torres* survived through natural selection of that form in which the singular "Universal- kasus" was reflected and that there was no intentional preference of logic involved in the choice. In other words, according to the Italian scholar, the plural oblique (coinciding in form with the accusative case) would simply reflect a popular tendency to add the plural -s marker to the oblique singular form, thus establishing a symmetry between singu- lar and plural.[22] And why not? May we assume, for the sake of argu- ment, that an expression like *cum discentes* is but the plural equivalent of a singular *cum discente,* that is, an oblique singular form provided with an -s marker and, hence, call it a *plural* oblique, rather than an accusative? We could thus establish a symmetry in terminology also by using the term *oblique* for *both* singular and plural.

Rohlfs once said that the collapse of the Latin inflectional system was due to the multiplicity of flexional types and the inability of the unschooled speaker to handle correct case endings.[23] Assuming then, with Rohlfs, that the bulk of grammatically ignorant speakers of the Empire could not be supposed to have been able to handle the sophisti- cated morphological mechanism of Latin, the "oblique theory" makes all the more sense since it postulates a "Universalkasus" in both singu- lar and plural that could be easily handled by the untutored speaker in all syntactic functions. The mass of inductive evidence in favor of this theory is impressive and should not be swept under the rug by those who prefer to follow views deductively arrived at in disregard of all the available data.

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cusativo possa sostituire un nominativo e viceversa; quando le forme casuali sono sparite, quando le funzioni si esprimono con le perifrasi preposizionali, non si può nemmeno par- lare più nei termini dei singoli casi latini" (Vol. II, p. 38). — For an entirely different point of view that rejects both the accusative and the oblique theory and argues in favor of a generalized nominative case as the progenitor of the Romance noun, cf. Maria Ilies- cu, "Stammen die romanischen Substantive lateinischen Ursprungs von der Akkusa- tivform ab?," *Revue roumaine de linguistique,* 14 (1969), pp. 477-79. For the view that the noun-forms of Romance, both singular and plural, are the result of an amalgamation of the nominative and oblique forms of Vulgar Latin, cf. R. Penny's article referred to above.

[22]Cf. *Archivio,* 2 (1876), p. 421.

[23]Gerhard Rohlfs, *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache,* Vol. II (Bern 1949), p. 433.

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More Roman Light on Rabbinic Texts[1]

HOWARD JACOBSON

The word אליקי (אלאיקי, אלעיקי) occurs in two Rabbinic texts. Of the numerous explanations that have been offered,[2] most have been rejected because they are linguistically absurd (e.g. Jastrow's derivation from אלקים) or because they make no contextual sense. But one solution is widely accepted, that אלאיקי derives from Greek εἰκῇ plus Hebrew על and means, "in vain, for nothing, rashly."[3] It therefore needs to be pointed out that this view has serious difficulties and should not be wholeheartedly applauded.

In the first place, the addition of על to the adverb εἰκῇ is puzzling. It is true that Syriac uses εἰκῇ frequently but this makes the addition of על here all the more questionable. *Hebrew* parallels like על מגן and על חנם provide but little support. Further, though the manuscripts differ in their spelling of this word, they are unanimous in reading אל and not על .[4]

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[1]See *Illinois Classical Studies* V (1980), pp. 57-62. The following reference works are cited throughout in abbreviated form: *Plenus Aruch Targum-Talmudico-Midrasch Verbale et Reale Lexicon,* ed. A. Kohut (4 vols., Vienna 1878-92); M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (repr. New York 1967); S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum,* vol. 2 (Berlin 1899); J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Darmstadt 1963; repr. of 2nd ed. of 1924); J. Fürst, *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraicum* (Strassbourg 1890).

[2]For lists of suggestions see the lexicons of Jastrow (p. 70), Fürst (p. 49), the *Aruch* (1. 106), Krauss (vol. 2, p. 50), and also S. Buber's edition of the *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* (Lyck 1868), p. 104a, note 81.

[3]The solution is De Lara's and is accepted by Fürst, Krauss, S. Lieberman (*Hellenism in Jewish Palestine,* New York 1950, p. 213) and B. Mandelbaum in his edition of the *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* (New York 1962), p. 212.

[4]Though אלתר (על אתר=) might provide a useful parallel.

Secondly, in one of the two passages in which   אליקי   occurs,
εἰκῇ hardly makes sense. One can see the point at *Cant. Rab. ad* I:4:

בשעה שעמדו ישראל לפני הר סיני לקבל

התורה אמר להם הקב"ה, אלעיקי אני נותן

לכם את התורה, אלא הביאו לי ערבים

טובים שתשמרוה ואני נותנה לכם.

But *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana, Bahodesh Hashelishi* is problematic:[5]

למלך שהיה מבקש ליקח אשה בת טובים ובת

גנוסים. אמר, אליקי איני תובע בה, משאני

עושה עמה כמה טובות ואחר כך אני תובע בה.

Does "rashly" or "vainly" give good sense here? Mandelbaum
translates   בחנם   . If by this he means "at no expense" (which
makes some contextual sense),[6] we should note that εἰκῇ does not
carry this meaning.

אליקי   (the spelling of the *Aruch* and evidently also of the
best manuscript of the *Pesikta*[7]) may then be *ilico,* a colloquial word
used at all stages and periods of the Latin language. This matches the
Hebrew orthography quite well[8] and gives impeccable sense in both pas-
sages: "Shall I give you the Torah on the spot? Bring me guarantors
and I will give it to you." "I don't ask her hand on the spot. After I
have done several good things for her, then I will ask for her hand."

The word   קורדייקוס   occurs several times in the Talmud[9]
and it is clear from the contexts that it refers to a temporary seizure of
"insanity" (or to the person suffering from such an attack). Transla-
tors, lexicons and commentaries assert that this is the Greek word

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[5]Buber, p. 104a, Mandelbaum, p. 212.

[6]W. G. Braude and I. J. Kapstein (trans.), *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* (London 1975),
p. 236, seem to follow this line, translating "Without doing something in her behalf, I
shall not ask her hand in marriage. Only after I do a great many good things in her
behalf, will I ask for her hand."

[7]So, at all events, Buber reports of the Oxford manuscript. There is no such indi-
cation in Mandelbaum.

[8]For א = *i* cf.   אמפרטור   The only flaw in an otherwise perfect transli-
teration is the final "yod," which could be a degeneration in pronunciation or perhaps a
corruption in the manuscripts of "vav" to "yod."

[9]*Gittin* 7. 1; *bGittin* 67b, *jGittin* 48c36, *jTerum* 40b36.

καρδιακός,[10] though most note that the Greek word never seems to convey this meaning.[11] The illness known as καρδιακός (ἡ) is a rather more elaborate physical disease as can be seen from the lengthy clinical description of its symptomatology at Caelius Aurelianus *celerum vel acutarum passionum* II. 30. 161 - II. 36. 190, and scarcely seems to suit the requirements of the Talmudic contexts.

In spite of this, the view that קורדייקוס = καρδιακός is fundamentally correct. But we must look to the Roman version of the word, *cardiacus*. For it is clear that there was a Roman use of the term, perhaps colloquial, to signify a temporary state of "insanity" (delusion, ecstasy, *vel sim.*). Thus, Firmicus Maternus (III. 5. 29) notes that a certain conjunction of the planets makes some people *deliros aut cardiacos aut freneticos* and similarly Tertullian (*de anima* 43. 8) couples *phreneticam atque cardiacam (valetudines)* as abnormal conditions that adversely affect a person's sleep. And from a particularly illuminating passage in Cicero (*de div.* I. 38. 81) we can easily infer that there were people who believed that the ability to foretell the future was connected to one's being *cardiacus*, which makes perfect sense within the ancient context of the association of prophetic ability with insanity. Finally, all commentators seem to ignore the difficulty posed by the spelling קור- to represent καρ-. But this too is explicable when we realize that the influence here derives from Roman, not Greek, roots. Evidently the Romans not only adopted Greek καρδιακός in its Greek pronunciation and spelling (*cardiacus*), but also used a second pronunciation and spelling, *cordiacus*, most probably by assimilation to Latin *cor*. Thus, we find in several sources *cordiacus*, as well as *cardiacus*. *Gloss.* II 338.55 gives καρδιακός − *cordiacus* and the *Notae Tironianae* (ed. Schmitz) lists both *cardiacus* (*Tab.* 111.51) and *cordiacus* (111.52).[12]

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[10]E.g., Jastrow p. 1341, *Aruch* 7. 189, Levy 4. 275, Krauss p. 519, the Soncino translation of *Gittin* (*ad* 67b, p. 320), Albeck in his edition of the Mishnah (*Seder Nashim*, p. 404).

[11]Some refuse to accept the identification on precisely these grounds, e.g. L. Goldschmidt *ad Gittin* 67b (Berlin 1932, p. 411) who suggests a derivation from κορδάκος, "Der Taumler." This view is approved by H. and H. Guggenheimer in *Leshoneinu* 35 (1971), p. 209, n. 14. If κορδάκος is meant to be genitive of κόρδαξ (the accent is wrong), it should be noted that κόρδαξ does not mean "Der Taumler." If it is intended to be a nominative, it should be noted that such a word does not seem to exist.

[12]I am indebted to Professor Daniel Sperber for helpful criticisms.

JOHN LEWIS HELLER

John Lewis Heller was born October 2, 1906 at Riegelsville, Pennsylvania. He obtained his A.B. with high honors in English from Haverford College in 1927; and his A.M. and Ph.D. in Classics from Princeton University in 1928 and 1933.

His early academic teaching experience was in New England. Later he was appointed to the University of Minnesota, where he served from 1937 to 1949, progressing from his initial position of Assistant Professor to Professor and Chairman (1947-1949). In 1949 Professor Heller was called to the University of Illinois where he served as Professor and Head of Department until 1966. He retired as Professor Emeritus in 1975.

Dr. Heller has been a member of Phi Beta Kappa since 1926. In 1961-62 he was President of the Illinois Classical Conference. He was Editor for Notes of the Classical Association for the Middle West and South from 1943-45. He was Editor of Publications for the American Philological Association from 1946-50 and again in 1957. He was President of the APA in 1966. He is also a member of the Archaeological Institute of America and of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural Science. In 1969-70 he was invited to the University of Pittsburgh as Visiting Mellon Professor of Classics.

Doctoral Dissertations directed by Professor Heller at the University of Illinois (except as noted) include:
T. O. MacAdoo, "The Modification of Adjectives in Greek by means of Prefixes" (1952);
R. A. Swanson, "*Pudor* as a Criterion in Latin Literature" (1954);
N. F. Gienapp, "Paired Expressions in Homer" (1957);
M. Naoumides, "Greek Lexicography in the Papyri" (1961);
R. L. Den Adel, "The Latin Vocabulary of Non-articulated Sounds" (1971);
J. J. Prentice, "Linnaeus's *Senium Salomoneum:* Text, Translation, and Commentary" (University of Pittsburgh 1971);
H. H. Parker, "Linnaeus on Intoxicants: Pharmacology, Sobriety, and Latinity in 18th-Century Sweden" (1977).

Professor Heller edited for the American Philological Association *Transactions and Proceedings,* vols. 76 (for 1945), 77, 78, 79 (for 1948), and 87 (for 1956), as well as five Monographs:
G. M. Bolling, *Ilias Atheniensium: The Athenian Iliad of the Sixth Century*

B.C., 1950;

H. Fraenkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums,* 1951;

A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers,* 1952;

E. A. Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative: Their Origin as Futures,* 1953;

J. W. Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium,* 1959.

Other publications are:

1932   "Burial Customs of the Romans," *CW* 25, pp. 193-97.

1933   "A Note on the So-called Confession of Golias," *Speculum* 8, pp. 257-58.

1934   "Cicero *Pro Caelio* 55," *Class. Philol.* 29, pp. 141-43.

1935   "Ancient Rhetoric in the Modern College Course in Speech," *CW* 29, pp. 57-59; repr. in *Readings in Speech,* edd. L. Crocker and P. A. Carmack, 1965, pp. 30-37.

1936   "Vergil's Sources in *Aen.* IX. 481-497," *Proc. APhA* 66, p. xxvii.

1938   Rev. *A Study of the Clausulae in the Writings of St. Jerome,* by H. C. Herron, *CW* 31, p. 122.
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J. K. Newman, *Editor*

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Patet omnibus veritas; nondum est occupata;
multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est.
Sen. *Epp.* 33. 11

ILLINOIS CLASSICAL STUDIES
VOLUME VIII.2

HIRSUTAE CORONAE

The Editor welcomes contributions, which should not normally exceed twenty double-spaced typed pages, on any topic relevant to the elucidation of classical antiquity, its transmission or influence. Consistent with the maintenance of scholarly rigor, contributions are especially appropriate which deal with major questions of interpretation, or which are likely to interest a wider academic audience. Care should be taken in presentation to avoid technical jargon, and the trans-rational use of acronyms. *Homines cum hominibus loquimur.*

Contributions should be addressed to:
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        Illinois Classical Studies,
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Each contributor receives twenty-five offprints.

Preface

The real life of Rome did not permit itself to be Hellenized in any vital part, but the more Rome subjected herself to the formative discipline of Greece, the more clearly the natural energy of national life revealed itself.
(E. Fraenkel, Inaugural Lecture, Oxford, 13 February 1935.)

In a well-known passage of the thirteenth book of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus tells a long and circumstantial story to Athene, who is disguised as a young shepherd. There is not a word of truth in his tale, and at the end mortal and goddess recognize each other for the first-class deceivers they are (vv. 287 ff.). A Greek audience, as Stanford comments, would enjoy this back-chat between the wisest of gods and wiliest of men, because they admired a tall tale for its own sake.

And it is with a tall Greek tale that literary historians have been too often fascinated. They like nothing so much as to dilate on the backwardness of the "untutored Romans," when they are trying to say something about the first beginnings of artistic endeavor at Rome. Of course they have Horace on their side:

> Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio: sic horridus ille
> Defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
> Munditiae pepulere: sed in longum tamen aevum
> Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
> (*Epp.* II. I. 156-60)

But what we have to remember is that Horace was not so much a professor as a partisan in his literary judgments. Even Cicero, as D. R. Shackleton Bailey points out to our readers, is not wholly reliable here. Horace was concerned to defend the Roman revolution as it had affected literature. That is perfectly legitimate. But we should not look to him for truths about the situation which really existed, and we should not use convenient quotations from him as an excuse to avoid thought.

For in fact, if we teach our students the sort of literary history which insists that the Romans could not or did not stir hand or foot in matters artistic until they made contact with the Greeks, and then that they became what is so often called by the unpromising name of "imitators," we are doing a grave disservice to our cause. First of all, we are implying that the difficult language Latin is only going to make sense if there is added to it the difficult language Greek, and, though this may be true in the long run, I am not sure it is true immediately, and so true that it has to be thrust upon students as a first principle. Secondly, as a corollary from this first mistake, we will be tempted to downplay the originality of Roman literature, and to be suggesting all the time that, whatever its merits, they are as pale moonlight when compared with the bright Apolline sun of Hellenism. Why should anyone want to be bothered with the second-rate, even though there have been scholars who have not hesitated to apply that epithet to the very Latin authors over whose texts they have lingered so attentively?

The most pressing question of Latin literary history becomes therefore, as Gordon Williams argues later in these pages, the question of Roman originality. Were the Romans "untutored" or were they not? The first point to get clear in our answer is that they were not a *tabula rasa,* smooth and blank, waiting for some Greek seal to be impressed upon them. We need to introduce from our colleagues in modern languages the concept of "reception." No one thinks, for example, that the British had no literary aptitude of their own if someone writes about the "reception" of Russian literature in England in the 19th century. The Romans received plenty, no doubt, from the Greeks, as they did from the Etruscans, though that is matter for another volume. But they took it, not onto a wax tablet, but into a curious *olla,* a pot, of their own devising, and in doing so they immediately gave what they got fresh contours, a fresh context, a fresh "deformation," to use a word of which French critics are fond.

The peculiar outlines of the Roman aesthetic imagination may be seen if we study three phenomena, the circus, the triumph and the carnival, where it is hardly likely that the Romans had to wait for Greek inspiration before they moved. Archaeologists tell us that the circus at Rome was built as early as the time of the kings, and that the games held there were associated with the god Consus, the god who presided over the harvest home, when the grain was "hidden" (*condo*) in store to be produced in time of winter's bleakness. As Roman civilization developed, the circus took an ever stronger hold on the Roman popular imagination, until at Byzantium the rival factions of the Blues and the Greens, as in the case of the Nika revolt against Justinian, could

threaten the destiny of the emperor himself. But we must remember that it is precisely from the start of a horse race in the Circus that Ennius drew his picture of the tense wait at the very foundation of the City to see whether the gods would favor Romulus or Remus.

> Anxiety filled all the men as to which of the two would be ruler. As, when the consul means to give the signal, all men look eagerly at the barrier's bounds to see how soon he will send forth the chariots from the painted mouths — so the people waited.

The Romans were, in a profound sense, a Circus people right from the start. This is why that archetype of all the modern popular introductions to Roman civilization — L. Friedlaender's *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms,* available in English translation* — should be among the first books to be utilized by the teacher, and the first to be browsed through by the student. What we need of course is an updating of Friedlaender with good, modern illustrations.

What does the Circus entail? What do we mean by saying that the Romans were "a Circus people?" For one thing, it means accepting the primacy for the Roman imagination of comedy: obviously not of Greek comedy, a view against which George Sheets rightly protests. This need not imply that the Romans were always expecting their readers and viewers to laugh, since the comic, pushed beyond a certain point, can also terrify, as admirers of Dante will testify. Perhaps we might say that the Romans had a deep awareness of the grotesque. Does not Horace, in the *Ars Poetica,* begin by warning the budding poet against the Picasso-like depiction of a girl with a beautiful head, a horse's neck, and a fish's body? (We should savor this description. Scholars hasten to agree with Horace, but never say a word about the extraordinary fact that he should have chosen this, of all, examples to illustrate his theme.) Does Horace not speak of the Roman public's taste for "striking marvels," *speciosa miracula* like Homer's Antiphates, Scylla, Cyclops, Charybdis (*A.P.* 144-45)? And does not the same poet, who began by warning us against the mermaid with the horse's neck, end his poem with a bear that turns into a leech and alters its gender in the process?

> Like the bear which has found the strength to break the bars of his cage, the untimely reader of verses scatters in flight unlettered and lettered alike: if he manages to catch someone, he grips him and kills him by his recitation: he is a leech, who will not relax her hold on the skin until she is glutted with blood (*A.P.* 472-76).

Roman Life and Manners in the Early Empire (repr. London 1965 from 7th ed. 1907-1913).

At the end of the second book of his *Odes,* this same Horace describes his metamorphosis into a swan, complete with rough skin (*asperae pelles*) on his legs. Scholars have never known what to make of this absurd image.

From "grotesque" I have slid to "metamorphosis." This is in fact a basic circus concept, which can vary from the party hat and long nose to the clown's full dress regalia. Another variant of it is wearing one's Sunday best in order to go to church, just as Domitian ordered that Romans should attend the games wearing their togas. In the sweltering Roman summer, the order was hygienically absurd, as Martial complains. But hygiene had nothing to do with it. There was a folk idea of great antiquity at work here, and ultimately a religious reason. "Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having on a wedding-garment?" said by the King to his guests, is an aspect of the same feeling.

The student of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* especially if he begins with the account of creation, will not take long to deduce that metamorphosis has biological roots. The scientist looking through his microscope will not need much convincing, as he gazes at the squirming and ever-changing shapes on his plate, that nature dearly loves the cycle of growth and change, a cycle in which death becomes an incidental in the natural round. But, though the Roman farmer had no microscopes, did he not grasp the same truths in his walks around his fields, or in his daily contact with his animals? Horace may have sneered at the "traces of the farmyard" which he still found in Roman poetry, just as Catullus sneered at the *Annales Volusi.* But without those traces, and more than traces, Roman poetry would not be Roman. J. E. G. Zetzel shows this for Ennius and Catullus 64, and Georg Luck for Naevius and Virgil.

Another implication of the circus idea is freedom: freedom from constraint, as when the trapeze or high-wire artist performs his or her death-defying act, or when the clown on tall stilts breaks the ban on human height: but also freedom of thought and expression. Here one may quote Naevius at one end of the time-scale: *libera lingua loquemur ludis liberalibus,* written in the third century B.C.: and at the other a passage from C. A. Trypanis' *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry* referring to the Hippodrome in Byzantium. Trypanis writes (p. xxxvi):

> The hippodrome became much more than a mere race-course; it was an assembly, a substitute for the vanished Comitia, the last asylum of the liberties of the Populus Romanus. There the people, forgetting the rivalry of the two main political parties — the Blues and the Greens — into which they were originally divided, could call an emperor to account or demand the dismissal of an unpopular minister.

The Roman Saturnalia, in which slaves briefly assumed the cap of liberty and were able to speak freely to their masters, like Davus in the seventh satire of Horace's second book, shows that this license of language was built into the Roman calendar. It too is something sacred, and that is why *parrhesia,* the freedom of the Athenian citizen in his democratic state to say what he liked, is also a term much used in St. Paul's Epistles.

Now it is possible to see how that peculiarly Roman phenomenon, the triumph, fits into a larger pattern. It had its metamorphosis, as when the face of the triumphing general was painted vermilion, like that of the statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. It had its freedom, as when the soldiers in the triumphal procession were allowed to sing rude verses about the personal habits of their leader. "Look out for your wives, citizens: we are escorting a bald adulterer," was what they sang about Julius Caesar (*moechus* punning on the Atellane *Maccus?*) in the trochaic meter typical of comedy. And of course there was the slave who stood behind his master in the chariot, whispering all the time "Hominem te memento," rather like the priest on Ash Wednesday.

The circus, the triumph, the Saturnalia or carnival: as we read Friedlaender's pages we can find their common elements, and begin to appreciate the quality of the shaping aesthetic imagination which makes it nonsense to speak of the Romans as "mere" farmers before the Greeks moved in. But there is one important question which Friedlaender does not tackle, and which it would be essential to confront if his book were to be updated for use by our students. How does this sort of imagination jibe with the imagination we are conditioned to look for in the authors we read in class? A full answer to this question would really demand the re-writing of Roman literary history. In some authors, such as Ovid, we can feel the carnival presence without too much difficulty. But what about Virgil? What about the *Aeneid,* that poem of tragic intensity? Yet even the *Aeneid* becomes a poem of metamorphoses, when we study the complex relationship a character like Dido bears to Greek figures as disparate as Nausicaa, Helen, Circe, and from Apollonius Rhodius, Hypsipyle and Medea. Or what about the internal metamorphoses, when Turnus, Juturna and queen Amata in book XII at the culmination of the epic replay Anna, Dido and Aeneas from book IV? Nowadays scholars would not find any of this too new. But perhaps they would not have taken so long to discover what a strange poem the *Aeneid* is if they had not been so anxious to ignore Roman aesthetic independence.

Nor would scholars ever have been so ready to see in the *Aeneid* a propaganda blast from an Augustan mouthpiece if they had understood

the right of circus freedom. The very fact that the *Aeneid* is polyphonic (quite literally, since Virgil was famous for the "extraordinary harlotries" of his voice) means that it cannot signify one thing only. As characters blend into one another, as Aeneas and Turnus interchange, for example, the characters of Homer's Hector, Achilles and Ajax, we are no longer able to say straightforwardly that one of them represents the right and another the wrong. It is the same suspension of commitment as was enjoyed by the soldiers in the triumphal procession, except that what was enjoyed by them so briefly is here eternalized in the timeless dimension of great art.

Readers of the *Aeneid* from at least the time of St. Augustine, if not that of Ovid, have always been inclined to sympathize with Dido against Aeneas, and this may explain why in the Middle Ages Turnus is held in high regard, while Konrad of Hirtzau reports that, after his victory, Aeneas made himself so unpopular among his Italian subjects that eventually he was struck down by a lightning bolt! Metamorphosis, the carnival dissolution of one semblance into another, shows that for Virgil Dido was meant as a somewhat more terrifying symbol than sentimentalists realize. Book III of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas recounts his adventures in his Mediterranean wanderings, is crucial for the understanding of this. The book culminates with the picture of mount Etna, in all its dreadful might, and the horrible Cyclops, who threatens, along with his brothers, to destroy Aeneas and his company. Scholars chide this book as uninspired and dull. But what they will not see is that "the fires of Etna" were a well-known topos for the passion of love. The comparison may be traced from Catullus, through Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Petrarch to Sannazaro and Ariosto. In fact, Aeneas is not telling his story to us. He is telling it to queen Dido, who is hanging with rapt and love-sick attention on his every word. *Caeco carpitur igni* is what we will hear of her at the start of book IV. What Virgil has done is to show us what the "fires of Etna" are really like, and the threat which they pose to Aeneas. This is the reality which underlies the posturing of Dido's Hellenistic court.

And the Cyclops, the man-eating monster who so powerfully anticipates Dante's image of the devil in the bottommost pit of hell, eternally devouring Brutus, Cassius and Judas? When Dido is cursing Aeneas, she threatens him with Hannibal:

> exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
> qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos....
>   (IV. 625-26)

And we know of Hannibal that, when he was in Italy, he was indeed one-eyed: *altero oculo capitur* (Livy XXII. 2. 11). It is laughable, and

yet it is from just such laughable material, and ultimately from the carnival, that Virgil's high tragedy is constructed.

The Roman aesthetic imagination is not wholly different from that of the Greeks, but it has its own rude, native vigor. *Hirsutae coronae* may have been criticized by Propertius, as John Miller will show, but at this distance they look well on the brows of that *rustica proles* which conquered the world and appropriated forever the literature of Europe. *Plus est ingeni Romani terminos in tantum promovisse quam imperi.*

*
* *

The following papers were presented in their original form at the *Hirsutae Coronae* Conference held at the University of Minnesota. Warmest thanks are expressed to Professors John Miller and George Sheets for the energy and enthusiasm shown in organizing the conference, and for their subsequent editorial labors. A grant from the University of Minnesota towards the expenses of preparing the present volume is also gratefully acknowledged. The order of papers as presented has been preserved.

Once again Frances Stickney Newman generously undertook the burdensome task of preparing this issue on UNIX* and of producing the indexes. She receives our inadequate thanks for countless hours of labor.

Dr. William Plater, Associate Director of the School of Humanities, continued to encourage and sustain our efforts. His reward is, we hope, to see what has been done.

J. K. Newman

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HIRSUTAE CORONAE

Archaic Roman Poetry and its
Meaning to Later Generations

Foreword

The papers collected in this volume were presented on November 5-6, 1981, at the University of Minnesota at a conference entitled "*Hirsutae Coronae:* Archaic Roman Poetry and its Meaning to Later Generations." The title, *Hirsutae Coronae,* was taken from Propertius' attribution to Ennius of a "shaggy crown," an image which embodies the principal issues forming the focus of the conference. Of these issues, one concerns the literary achievement of the earliest poets — why a *corona* at all? — a topic which has attracted increasing attention in recent classical scholarship. A second issue centers more particularly on the differing attitudes of later Roman authors toward the archaic poets, and the use which such authors made of them. Lastly, Propertius' reference to Ennius invites consideration of the broader issue of the relationships among authors of all periods in the context of an evolving literary tradition. Each of the seven papers in this collection addresses one or more of these issues. In several instances, the same text is treated by more than one paper, although from different critical perspectives. For this reason particularly, the *Index Locorum* which appears at the end of the volume may prove helpful to the reader.

It is a pleasure for us to thank John Wallace, Associate Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, for his early support and repeated assistance in obtaining funding for the conference itself, and toward the publication of its proceedings. We are also happy to associate our efforts with the tribute being paid by his colleagues at the University of Illinois to Professor Emeritus John Lewis Heller, formerly Professor of Classics and Chairman of Department at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

John Miller and George Sheets

Contents

1

Memini Me Fiere Pavum

Ennius and the Quality of the

Roman Aesthetic Imagination

J. K. NEWMAN

Anyone who studies the history of early Latin literature is struck by its evidence of two extremes: a dependence on Greek models on the one side, and on the other an inability to reproduce those models with any degree of satisfying fidelity. Plautus' practice of *contaminatio,* shared with Naevius, Ennius and Terence, would be an example. So would his introduction of the *canticum* into the chaste elegance and controlled economy of the Greek New Comedy.

As sophistication grew, Roman writers themselves expressed impatience with their predecessors' ineptness. One of the most surprising features of Horace's literary criticism is its iconoclasm, which does not of course spare Ennius. In a conservative age, bent on the restoration of inherited values, the voice of Augustan orthodoxy is strangely raised in rejection of past achievement: *hodieque manent vestigia ruris.*

Literary historians have often yielded to the temptation to take these assertions of discontinuity at face value. Ennius, the argument would run, was ultimately of no use to Virgil. Is the younger poet not reported to have tastefully described his relation to his predecessor as "collecting gold from Ennius' dung"? He was even less use to Propertius or Ovid. By the time of Persius, the opening of the *Annales* has become a joke. The archaists of Tacitus' time, determined to replace the *Aeneid* with something really primitive, end up reading Lucretius! Even the so-called Ennian revival of the second century has, it may be urged, much more to do with the recovery of an Alexandrian frame of reference for literary experiment, in which Ennius is cast as the inimitable Homer, than it has to do with the sober appreciation of the poet's

real merits.[1]

But, although this kind of literary history has its necessary function, it can obscure what every admirer of Roman civilization knows, that beneath all the surface dissimilarities runs a persistent, common stream of Roman genius. It is this common element which the study of Ennius helps us to define.

Its first aspect is bizarre. What a jarring disharmony is produced in the mind of the Hellenist by Ennius' assertion of his (or Homer's) poetic phylogenesis, going right back to ornithology, at the start of his epic! Not that Greek epic writers had failed to make similar odd claims: Empedocles had declared that he had been a boy, a girl, a bush, a bird, and a scaly fish in the sea.[2] But this had not been directly at the beginning of his poem, and in any case the *Katharmoi* was no ordinary epic. Choerilus of Samos had commented on his poetic problems at the opening of his *Persica* (fr. 1 Kinkel) — but with what good sense! Stesichorus *may* have raised something akin to Ennius' claims, if we can trust an epigram by one of the Antipaters in the *Anthology:* "The burning plain of Catana is the burial ground of Stesichorus, bounteous, measureless mouthpiece of the Muse. Fulfilling Pythagoras' doctrine of nature, the soul that earlier was Homer's came to dwell a second time in his breast" (*A. P.* VII. 75).[3] But Stesichorus, though he bore the burden of epic song, bore it on a lyre.

What jars the purist then in Ennius is his union of the disparate. The expository epic is one thing: the historical is another, and the choral lyric is yet a third. The *Annales,* so clearly by their very title a historical epic, take up into themselves a metamorphosing autobiography more suited to the philosopher or the lyrist, and thrust it upon the reader's attention by inserting it at their very beginning.

The combination of the historical epic in this proem with the imitation of Callimachus' Dream from the opening of the *Aetia* is of a

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[1]The evidence for Ennius' *Fortleben* is collected by M. Schanz — C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* I (repr. Munich 1959), pp. 98-99. See also L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* II (10th ed., repr. Leipzig 1922), pp. 195, 197-98. The Alexandrian preoccupations evinced by the learned Gellius on the one side, and the *poetae novelli* on the other (on whom see H. Bardon, *La littérature latine inconnue* II [Paris 1956], pp. 233 ff.), enable us to understand how already Hadrian could express admiration for both Ennius and "neoteric" poetry. It was more than Catullus, for whom the Ennian threat was still alive, could do!

[2]Fr. 117 Diels — Kranz = 104 Gallavotti.

[3]Cited by H. Fuchs, "Zu den Annalen des Ennius," *Museum Helveticum* 12 (1955), p. 201. Cf. C. O. Brink, "Ennius and the Hellenistic Worship of Homer," *American Journal of Philology* 93 (1972), especially pp. 556 ff.

piece with this queerness. The Alexandrians opposed Hesiod to Homer.[4] Ennius borrowed Hesiod's Muses from the opening of the *Theogony*, but makes them dance, not on Helicon, but on Olympus, as some sort of signal of his Homeric inclinations. Accius would later pay Ennius the same kind of backhanded compliment, borrowing the title *Annales* for what looks suspiciously like a Roman version of the *Aetia*. Our longest fragment seems to form an attempt to derive the Roman *Saturnalia* from the Athenian *Cronia*.[5]

These confusions of distinctions crystal clear to the Greeks are not confined to literary symbols. E. Norden, one of the few scholars of his generation to have understood the effrontery of Ennius' *Annales,* remarks on their extraordinary conversion of Roman consuls and tribunes into Homeric heroes, aided by the use of the newly imported hexameter.[6] What could a Greek have thought, what did a Roman think when, instead of *Metti Fufetti,* he heard *Metioeo Fufetioeo?*[7] Not merely the peacock poet but, it turns out, the whole poem is a gigantic metamorphosis. And yet this is exactly where Ennius, far from being atypical and "no use" to his successors, in fact represents the essence of the Roman aesthetic — and one may add religious — experience.

The Roman predilection for metamorphosis is well known. Ovid and Apuleius both use the title. Horace, who warns against it at the start of the *Ars Poetica,* ends that poem by talking about a bear which, in the final line, unexpectedly becomes a leech. The same poet claims at the end of his second book of *Odes* that he is being changed into a swan, complete with *asperae pelles* on his legs.[8] The grotesque vision impinges too closely on middle-aged reality to be truly funny.

But, even when Virgil himself comes to think about epic, whatever his surface reluctance to follow the Ennian model, he immediately

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[4] E. Reitzenstein, "Hesiod als Vorbild des Epikers," in *Festschrift Richard Reitzenstein* (Leipzig and Berlin 1931), pp. 41 ff.

[5] Fr. 3 Morel - Buechner.

[6] *Die römische Literatur* (5th ed., Leipzig 1954), p. 16. See also F. Leo, *Geschichte der röm. Literatur* (repr. Berlin 1968), pp. 163 ff.

[7] Fr. 126 V (Leipzig 1903). Cf. W. Heraeus, "Ein makkaronisches Ovidfragment bei Quintilian," *Rh. Museum* 79 (1930), pp. 265 ff.

[8] See Preface, p. viii. The phrase is an example of the carnival "grotesque body": cf. M. Bakhtin, *Tvorchestvo François Rabelais* (Moscow 1965), pp. 329 ff. There is something Etruscan about this mutation of the *vates:* cf. "Bird-Demon Refreshing a Traveler," an Etruscan bronze reproduced on p. 164 of *Art of Rome, Etruria and Magna Graecia*, by G. Hafner, tr. Ann E. Keep (New York 1969). *Tuscus ego et Tuscis orior,* says Vertumnus in Propertius.

moves to metamorphosis.[9] A large part of the programmatic *Eclogue* 6 sounds like a rehearsal for the poem which Ovid would later write. Metamorphosis recurs in *Georgics* IV, where the story of Orpheus and Eurydice is told by a literally Protean *vates:* and finally it is found in the *Aeneid,* where a poet that no one will call unformed or primitive uses *contaminatio* from a myriad different sources, and notably from the *Iliad, Odyssey,* Greek tragedy and the *Argonautica,* to compound the shifting identities of his heroic protagonists.[10] Before the moody gaze of Roman lyrical and musical genius, Greek certainties, Greek clarities, dissolve and blur, much as the canons of classic art yield, as the Renaissance ages, to the pressures of late Michelangelo's or Bernini's chisel.

   "Greek certainties dissolve" — but, as usual, we must not push these generalizations too far. The characteristic use of metamorphosis in Greek literature can tell us a great deal about the nature of Roman aesthetic perception. If we are looking for metamorphosis in Greek, two sources are important. One is lyric, the other comedy.

   Pindar, for example, likes to double his mythical figures. In the first *Olympian*, Pelops finds a twin in Ganymede. Elsewhere Psamatheia finds one in Thetis (*N.* 5); Zeus in Poseidon (*I.* 8); Danaë in Alcmene (*I.* 7). When the poet remarks in this last passage: "She received the mightiest of the gods, when at midnight he snowed with gold" (v. 5), we expect a reference to Danaë, whose story was already alluded to in its familiar form in an early ode, the twelfth *Pythian.* But the antistrophe paradoxically begins with a reference instead to Alcmene.

   This blending is typical of the Greek poet's imagination.[11] The whole relevance of the "irrelevant" myth of the first *Nemean* turns upon it. When baby Heracles strangles the snakes, and inspires Teiresias to a prophecy of future godhead, earned by a life of labors, to be crowned by fighting for the gods against the Giants, we have to see that already the snakes are an embryo version of the snake-limbed Giants. Only then can it be understood how the comic nursery scene,

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   [9] *Mox, cum res Romanas incohasset, offensus materia ad Bucolica transiit* says Donatus (*Vit. Verg.* 19). But this may not have marked such a radical break with Ennius. Virgil quotes Callimachus (*Ecl.* 6. 3-5 = *Aet. pref.* 22-24), who had himself shown the way to a kind of Homer-*imitatio* in the *Hecale:* cf. frr. 239; 260, 62 ff. with Pfeiffer's notes.

   [10] The overt metamorphoses of Polydorus, apparently invented by Virgil (*Aen.* III. 22 ff.), and of Aeneas' ships into nymphs (IX. 77 ff., X. 219 ff.), fit then into a larger pattern.

   [11] See my article "Pindarica," forthcoming in *Rheinisches Museum.* The difference between Pindar, here perhaps typical of his countrymen, and the Romans is illustrated by *P.* 8. 95-96. For Pindar metamorphosis is tragic, as it is ultimately for Plato.

interpreted by the religious insight of the "prophet of most high Zeus" (v. 60), forms a unity with the rest of the ode — an ode which, incidentally, ends, like comedies of Aristophanes and Menander, with a wedding. Just as the Theban seer detects in the babyhood exploit of Heracles his whole triumphant future career, so the Theban poet Pindar detects in his patron's chariot victory at Nemea the possibility and promise of a similar success in the future.[12]

Menander is, of course, a master of metamorphosis, since what else are the kaleidoscopic tricks of New Comic plots, with their reversals of what was thought to be known, and recognitions of what was previously unknown, except the continually fresh presentations of the same truths? Like Callimachus and like Virgil, Menander is able to use a heroic model to dignify a modern scene. S. M. Goldberg, for example, notes a long messenger's speech in the *Sicyonius* "incorporating significant echoes of tragedy," and emphasizes that here there is no question of parody. "The tragic device keeps its own colour and value in the dramatic structure. Some of Menander's finest effects come from the juxtaposition of the two modes."[13] Handley says of tragic influence on Menander generally that

> ...it extends to the subtler form of reminiscence in which a comic scene is given overtones by echoing a famous incident in tragedy, or by following a tragic pattern of structure, language, or metre....So in the *Dyscolus*...when the stricken Knemon is brought out from his house...the situation which the comic plot has created gains in depth from the echo in stage spectacle, and perhaps in language, of the situation of a stricken hero in tragedy: the audience is to realize that the major crisis of Knemon's life is at hand, and the comparison which the dramatist suggests helps to bring this realization about.[14]

So, in talking about himself as a peacock's reincarnation, or even as Homer's avatar; in viewing Roman soldiers as Homeric heroes, Ennius was not doing anything utterly incomprehensible to the Greeks. But what they had earlier done at the popular level, in some ways marginally, was put by the *Annales* at the very center of Roman literature. In this respect they are a most faithful witness to the essence of the Roman aesthetic imagination, comic, lyrical, and, to the classical Greek, baroque.

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[12]See "Chromius and Heracles: Komic Elements in Pindar's First Nemean," *Eos* LXX. 2 (1982), pp. 209-21 [with F. S. Newman].

[13]*The Making of Menander's Comedy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980), pp. 22-23.

[14]*The Dyskolos of Menander,* ed. E. W. Handley (London 1965), pp. 6-7.

Metamorphosis — masking and unmasking — is a variant of mimesis, and Aristotle is not wrong when he makes mimesis the germ of literature. The Romans have too often been presented as pallid imitators of the Greeks. In reality, we should speak, as the Preface has argued, not of their imitation of Greek literature, but of their reception of it. They were not a *tabula rasa* waiting for a first impression. They had their own powerful tradition of mimesis. The Roman triumph, which deserves study as an aesthetic phenomenon,[15] would be one example. Mainly however this Roman tradition centered in the *ludi*, ultimately in the circus, theatre and amphitheatre. No profounder discrepancy between Greek and Roman civilization could be found than at this reference point. The Athenians banished violence in their theatre to the messenger's speech. The Romans enjoyed bloodshed, torture, death in all its forms enacted before their very eyes. And yet, for them, as for the Athenians, theatrical experience was both felt to be characteristic of their culture, and was religious![16]

What kind of religion was this? Here another and fundamental difference from classical Greece claims attention. The Greeks, so pessimistic about man's lot, extended this pessimism to their myths also. Pindar's epinicians compare their victor patrons with the heroic past with some sense of daring. In the first *Nemean* just mentioned, the poet concludes with the mythical prophecy of Teiresias. He does not spell out the application of his story to Chromius, his patron, directly, because he prefers his listener to do his work for him. This is certainly an artistic device. Later Callimachus, an ardent student of Pindar's narrative technique, would sum up its rationale in the *Aetia*.[17] But it is also a skilful avoidance of commitment. The poem is offered as a possibility to Chromius, not as a guarantee.

A fine instance of this Greek reserve which is relevant to our theme is seen in the sixth *Pythian*. In its myth, first the poet narrates the gripping story of the self-sacrifice of Antilochus, which saved his father Nestor at a moment of danger in the battle for Troy — but at the cost of the son's own life. The myth ends. "Those things are past,"

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[15]See F. Noack, "Triumph und Triumphbogen" in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1925-26 (below, note 25), pp. 147 ff.

[16]Characteristic: Friedlaender, *op. cit.* (above, note 1), II, p. 98; religious: H. Cancik, *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius* (Hildesheim 1965), pp. 104 ff.

[17]Fr. 57.1 Pf. αὐτὸς ἐπιφράσσαιτο, τάμοι δ' ἄπο μῆκος ἀοιδῇ. The use of the film-maker's verb "cut" is interesting. Cf. my "Callimachus and the Epic," *Serta Turyniana,* ed. J. L. Heller with the assistance of J. K. Newman (Urbana 1974), p. 354; *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels 1967), pp. 45 (a) and 47 (h).

the poet comments (v. 44), "but of men now even Thrasybulus has most closely approached his father's measure." Eduard Fraenkel remarks of this idiomatic "of men now":

> What seems to be expressed in all these passages is a definite shrinking from the use of the unrestricted superlative of praise: the measure of human modesty is preserved by limiting oneself to what can be asserted from one's personal knowledge.[18]

But already Fraenkel notes that neither the Great King of Persia nor the emperor Nero felt this Hellenic *aidos.* After *his* success in the festival contests, Nero is extolled because "first of all Romans in history he conquered it" (Dio Cassius, LXIII. 20. 2). The student of Rome however must understand that this is not just crass insensitivity. It is a more robust outlook on life. The Greeks saw the world as running down, from gold to silver to bronze to iron. The Romans saw the ever-fresh possibility of renewal.

Some examples at the further end of the tradition will eventually illumine Ennius. Statius says of Domitian's *Saturnalia:*

> I nunc saecula compara, Vetustas,
> antiqui Iovis aureumque tempus:
> non sic libera vina tunc fluebant
> nec tardum seges occupabat annum. (*Silvae* I. 6. 39 ff.)

> Compare if you like, Antiquity, the times of old Jove and the Golden Age: the fact remains that in those days there were no such liberal streams of wine, nor did the harvest then run ahead of the slow yearly round.

Statius is impressed at this circus celebration by the emperor's condescension in appearing among his subjects to share their meal. At the one table, class distinction is banished. Children are there, women, the common people, the knights, the senate. Liberty relaxes awe. All, rich and poor alike, may boast that they are the guest of our prince. It could be a description of some Christian Communion.[19] Indeed, in a later book, a letter of thanks to Domitian for a dinner invitation to the

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[18] *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* (repr. Oxford 1962), p. 269 with note 1. The extravagance of Pindar's eulogy of Hiero at *P.* 2. 60 is visible from the contrast between τῶν πάροιθε of the text and the expected τῶν νῦν.

[19] St. John Chrysostom's *Katekhetikos Logos,* used in the Orthodox Church on Easter Sunday, especially emphasizes these motifs. O. Freudenberg, *Poetika Syuzheta i Zhanra* (Leningrad 1936), speaks on p. 159 of the procession before the performance of Attic tragedies as consisting of the entire city, rich and poor, in holiday attire, led by the archon in charge. Her argument (pp. 168, 179-80), that Rome exhibits in primitive form theatrical elements developed and sophisticated by the Greeks, is extremely suggestive.

imperial palace is headed "Eucharisticon."

Scholars have traced the history of the religious phenomenon of the sacred meal, enlisted in ruler cult already in the Hellenistic world.[20] At that meal, the gods themselves are present to bless and bestow benediction. There is no question amid such revelry and good cheer of looking back wistfully to some vanished happiness. This is what Statius tells us about Domitian, who is a second Jupiter:

> **Parva** loquor, **necdum aequo** tuos, Germanice, vultus:
> talis, ubi Oceani finem mensasque revisit
> Aethiopum sacro diffusus nectare vultus
> dux superum secreta iubet dare carmina Musas
> et Pallenaeos Phoebum laudare triumphos.
>
> (*Silvae* IV. 2. 52 ff.)

This sort of language is very familiar to Christians. They too share a meal with their Lord, at which distinctions of earthly rank are transcended by the new freedom which is in Christ. They too know that it is not a matter of looking back to some vanished order, since the New Law far surpasses the Old. Thomas Aquinas asserts at the Feast of Corpus Christi:

> In hac mensa novi Regis
> Novum Pascha novae legis
> Phase vetus terminat.
>
> Vetustatem novitas,
> Umbram fugat veritas,
> Noctem lux eliminat. (*Lauda Sion*, saec. xiii)

We have come a long way from Pindar's "Those things are past," and discreet refusal to underscore the parallels between Chromius and Heracles.

O. Weinreich has expressed the Roman attitude excellently. The new reality lends a retroactive credibility to the false tales of myth, while at the same time proving the superiority of the imperial world to the past. Mythical happenings might be doubted. No one could doubt the evidence of his own eyes. The world of the emperor is more valuable than that of myth. Divine wonders are put in the shade by the *miracula Caesaris*. So are the wonders of the old world by the new marvel which is the Colosseum. Accordingly, the birthday of the emperor is holier than the birthday of Zeus, imperial gladiators perform

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[20]Cancik, *op. cit.* (above, note 16), p. 82. J. Martin, *Symposion* (Paderborn 1931), pp. 181, 314-17.

better than Heracles.[21]

The idea that the present is not a jaded copy of a superior past, but on the contrary outdoes it, was so appealing to the Roman mind that eventually it became a topos. *Taceat superata vetustas* says Claudian of Stilicho's exploit in putting a stop to Rufinus' nefarious career. "The days of old are surpassed; let them keep silence, and cease to compare Hercules' labours with thine!"[22] Here is another contrast with the first *Nemean.*

Martial uses the same idiom three centuries before Claudian in the *Liber Spectaculorum: sileat,* 1. 1; *prisca fides taceat,* 6b. 3; *taceantur stagna Neronis,* 28. 11. It is in the heightened atmosphere of the *ludi* that these phrases make sense. The metamorphosis here and now is so complete that no rivalry of the past is possible.

Dante, author of a religious *Comedy,* borrows exactly this language when he is describing a metamorphosis in hell which he feels outvies those of pagan poetry. The direct rivalry is with Lucan and Ovid: but the formulation, *taccia Lucano...taccia...Ovidio,* is from Martial and Claudian.[23]

J. Sinclair adds: "There seems to be something of the same irony in [Dante's] elaborately, as it may appear irrelevantly, picturesque reference to the ancient fable of the phoenix in connection with Fucci's alternate dissolution and revival [i.e. in the previous canto, 24. 106 ff.]; as if he had said: 'These are old stories; this is true, it is happening now'."[24]

This is the attitude which Weinreich finds in the Flavian writers. It is also the attitude of Thomas Aquinas, Dante's mentor, about the Christian Eucharist. It is the Roman Church which has historically insisted that the Bread and Wine are the Real Body and the Real Blood, not some sort of symbol or reminder of a past action. Conditioning Roman aesthetics, and also of course their product, the Roman arena offered the real bodies and real blood of its gladiators in an act not just

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[21] *Studien zu Martial* (Stuttgart 1928), pp. 30 ff. and *Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus* (Stuttgart 1933), p. 49, on the hymn sung by the Athenians in honor of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Cf. *omnia Romanae cedent miracula terrae,* Prop. III. 22. 17.

[22] *Contra Rufinum* I. 283-84 (Loeb translation vol. I, p. 47). See E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1948), pp. 168-72: my "Comic Elements in Catullus 51," *ICS* VIII. 1 (1983), p. 35.

[23] *Inferno* 25. 94 and 97.

[24] *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri,* with translation and comment by John D. Sinclair, 1 *Inferno* (London 1948), p. 317.

of amusement, but also of religious worship.[25]

The Romans then, and Dante their successor, apprehend myth quite differently from the classical Greeks. The mythical world has not vanished. At any minute it can not only be recalled, but also outdone. When Ennius recast the struggle of Rome with Carthage in Homeric terms, he was not so much imitating Homer as challenging him, suggesting that the Roman imperial present is something bigger and better than the stories of the past. What for the Greek Thucydides, who ventured to assert that the Peloponnesian War was more important than the Trojan or Persian Wars, was the dry and audacious rationalism of prose, has for the Roman become the stuff of poetry.[26]

This way of looking at the world is a fancy dress and circus affair. Roman culture is a culture of the marquee and big top, though we must avoid the error of therefore despising it.[27] This is why the Roman *ludi* are just as important in the study of Roman aesthetic perception as the theatre of Dionysus is for that of the Athenians. Even the attendants at the gladiatorial games, for example, were got up as divine beings. Those whose job it was to test whether the fallen were dead or alive were costumed like Mercury (Psychopompus). Those who dragged out the bodies through the Porta Libitinensis were Charons. Those charged with flogging the reluctant into the fray were Larvae.[28]

Martial's poetry provides rich evidence of the identification of the combatants or victims of the amphitheatre with their mythical counterparts.[29] Sidonius, the fifth-century Christian saint and bishop, helps us to realize how the populace still felt in his time. In poem XXIII to Consentius he pays homage to the realism of actors such as Caramallus or Phabaton: "Whether the daughter of Aeetes and her Jason *are being*

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[25]Franz J. Dölger, "Gladiatorenblut und Märtyrerblut. Eine Szene der Passio Perpetuae in kultur- und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1923-24, ed. Fr. Saxl (repr. Nedeln — Liechtenstein 1967), pp. 196 ff. Compare the subtitle to Weinreich's *Studien zu Martial* (above, note 21): "Literarhistorische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen."

[26]It communicated itself to Polybius: cf. τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ὑπεροχήν, I. 2; F. Focke, "Synkrisis," *Hermes* 58 (1923), p. 349. Friedlaender, *op. cit.* (above, note 1), II, p. 107, notes that the Greek orator Libanius (*De vita sua* 5) praises certain gladiators as "pupils of the 300 at Thermopylae." Martial would have said that they were better than their teachers.

[27]Friedlaender has two unforgettable pages, II, pp. 98-99. A new analysis of the originality of Roman literature is demanded by the theories of Freudenberg and Bakhtin. But this ocean is too vast to be embarked on here!

[28]Friedlaender, II, pp. 50 with n. 4 and 75; Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial*, p. 31.

[29]Weinreich, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

shown, with the barbarian Phasis...whether the feast of Thyestes...."[30] Sidonius continues with the realistic description of all kinds of old stories, which amazingly are now no longer old. All the marvellous events of myth are as available to the Roman public as the nearest pantomime. Martial had already written to Domitian: *Quidquid fama canit, praestat harena tibi*.[31]

What the arena offers indeed is not merely the replication of the past, but its superior. Martial likes the *cedat* topos found in Statius, and before that in Propertius. His *nec se miretur, Caesar, longaeva vetustas* (*loc. cit.*) eventually found pithy expression in Claudian's *taceat superata vetustas*. It is the fairground barker's exaggeration raised to the level of literature, and hence it will not surprise us to learn that the topos is already anticipated in Ennius' older contemporary, Plautus. *Superavit dolum Troianum atque Ulixem Pseudolus* says Simo of the eponymous hero of that play (*Pseud.* 1244), and his verb *superavit* already looks ahead five or six centuries to Claudian's *superata*.[32] In the *Bacchides* (925 ff.) the slave Chrysalus develops a long analogy between his tricks and the exploits of the Greeks in the Trojan War. He makes his points by way of metamorphosis, the sliding identities so characteristic of the *Aeneid*. In the course of the same *canticum* he first tells us: *ego sum Ulixes* (940). Six lines later we hear: *ego Agamemno, idem Ulixes Lartius* (946). In another fourteen lines he has become Achilles: *ego occidi Troilum* (960). He is, it seems, a whole catalogue of heroes rolled into one, and yet we know that he is only a slave talking big! He applies his analogies to others, as the logic of his transformations demands: *sed Priamus hic multo illi praestat* he says of Nicobulus (973). "This Priam far outdoes the old."

Eduard Fraenkel, who adduces these and other examples as characteristic of Plautus' genius, notes that to the Roman poet's plastic fancy Greek mythology is infinitely malleable. He asks if inconsistencies of this type could even be imagined in a Greek poet.[33] The answer is yes — but the poet might be Pindar or Bacchylides.

A fine example of Greek mythical blending may be discovered in the second *Olympian*. Describing the inhabitants of the Isle of the Blessed, Pindar reserves the end of his fourth triad for a touching vignette: "and there Achilles was borne, after she had persuaded the

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[30]Vv. 272 ff. Cf. Friedlaender, II, p. 136, citing Apuleius, *Met.* X. 30-34.

[31]*Lib. Spect.* 5. 4. Cf. *natura hic posuit, quidquid ubique fuit*, Prop. III. 22. 18.

[32]These Plautine examples are noted by E. Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (Florence 1960), pp. 7 ff.

[33]*Op. cit.*, p. 67.

heart of Zeus with her prayers, by his mother'': the pathetic last noun, concluding the triad, hints at a world of maternal grief. But in fact the appeal to Zeus by a bereaved mother on behalf of a dead son, answered with a grant of immortality, was originally made, according to Proclus, by Eos on behalf of Memnon in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus.[34] And Memnon is shortly to be mentioned by Pindar here as the third of Achilles' famous victims. It is after the reverberations of these names that Pindar goes on to say that he has many arrows beneath his arm, vocal to the intelligent, though to the general they need interpreters. He is asking us to look beneath the surface of his art. When we do that, we find that metamorphosis is one of the most typical procedures of a poet who so often speaks of himself in komic language.[35]

In one aspect then Pindar and Plautus are not so very far away from each other. Pindar is a lyric poet, using komic language to denote the essence of what he is doing. Plautus is a comic poet, using lyrical *cantica* to denote the essence of what he is doing, what makes his plays different from the Greek New Comedy. The Plautine elements in Plautus, the Roman elements in Latin literature, are a unique blend of the comic and the lyric. In another passage adduced by Fraenkel, Pinacium remarks:

Contundam facta Talthubi contemnamque omnis nuntios;
simulque ad cursuram meditabor me ad ludos Olympios.
(*Stichus* 305-06: the rhyme is noticeable)[36]

The combination of mythology and athletics in a comic context reminds one of scenes on certain red figure vases, perhaps the kind referred to by Pindar in his encomium to Thrasybulus.[37] In the *Casina* (759 ff.) Plautus' Pardalisca explicitly claims that neither Nemea nor Olympia ever had such jolly games to show as are going on now before the spectators' eyes. The stage and the circus suddenly blend into one.[38]

[34]Fr. 1 Kinkel.

[35]W. J. Slater's *Lexicon to Pindar* cites 10 examples of κωμάζω, 15 of κῶμος, 5 of ἐγκώμιος, 3 of ἐπικώμιος, 1 of προκώμιον, 1 of συγκωμάζω, 1 of ἀγλαόκωμος. By contrast Snell-Maehler's *Index Vocabulorum* to Bacchylides gives 1 example of κωμάζω, 4 of κῶμος, none of the others. Bacchylides does not use the word programmatically at all.

[36]Cf. *Casina* 424-26; *Miles Glor.* 79-81; *Poenulus* 720 ff. Some of this seems to anticipate the *poetae novi*. Cf. J. Marouzeau, *Traité de Stylistique latine* (Paris 1962), pp. 58 ff.

[37]Fr. 124 a 4, Sn.-M. ''Athletes provide the largest single class of everyday life scenes in Archaic red figure'': J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Archaic Period* (London 1975), p. 220.

[38]*Circus noster eccum adest, Cornicula* fr. 1, Leo: Fraenkel, *El. plautini*, p. 7. This is the ''All the world's a stage'' theme: Bakhtin, *Rabelais* (above, note 8), pp. 10, 288: Curtius, *op. cit.* (above, note 22), p. 146.

Ennius was the translator of Euhemerus' *Hiera Anagraphe,* the most famous document of a tendency deeply layered in the Greek spirit to raise man to the level of the gods, visible earlier in another celebrated book, Prodicus' *Horae.*[39] Plautus had not failed at Rome to anticipate these conjunctions. *Mea Iuno, non decet esse te tam tristem tuo Iovi* says Lysidamus to Cleustrata in the *Casina* (230). And again in the *Truculentus* (515): *Mars peregre adveniens salutat Nerienem uxorem suam;* and in the *Persa: O mi Iuppiter / terrestris* (99-100). Fraenkel speaks of an imagination which works through "on the spot identifications."[40] So it was that the face of the triumphing general was painted with vermilion, like that of the statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on festival days. Scholars have been shocked. But do they mistake the nature of Roman aesthetics in taking all this too logically?[41]

We can in fact see Plautus' and Ennius' imaginations working in parallel in this very matter. Ennius had compared Scipio by implication with Alexander the Great.[42] Lactantius is horrified that the same Scipio should be allowed by Ennius to say:

> Si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam est,
> Mi **soli** caeli maxima porta patet. (fr. 23-24, *Epigr.*)

This *soli* is a study in itself. It has a long history, but within the pagan world it derives from a Greek religious use of εἶς and μόνος, applied then to a leader such as Demetrius Poliorcetes by the Athenians, and ultimately becoming a catchword in certain academic circles.[43] But its development at Rome was in the circus. *Hermes Martia saeculi voluptas,* cries Martial: *...Hermes et gladiator et magister...Hermes, quem timet Helius sed unum, Hermes cui cadit Advolans sed uni...Hermes gloria Martis universi, Hermes omnia **solus** et ter unus* (5. 24). And where else were the Acclamations chanted but in the Hippodrome at Byzantium?

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[39]Cf. Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus* (above, note 21), pp. 82 ff.

[40]*El. plautini,* p. 92.

[41]K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960), p. 152 with notes 2 and 3: Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus* etc., p. 9 with note 30 and p. 17 with note 74: Bakhtin, *Rabelais,* p. 9.

[42]E. Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI* (repr. Stuttgart 1952), pp. 322-23. See also Fraenkel, *op. cit.,* p. 14, note 1, on the parallel with Plautus, *Trinummus* 1125.

[43]E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig — Berlin 1913), p. 245, note 1; Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus* etc., pp. 6-8. Cf. *qui **solus** legit et facit poetas,* Morel, p. 83 (=Buechner, p. 105). Contrast the Hebrew *Shema Israel (Deut.* 6:4) and *quoniam tu **solus** sanctus* etc. in the Roman Mass = ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος Ἅγιος κτλ. *in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Rev.* 15:4: "Comic Elements in Catullus 51" (above, note 22), p. 34.

ΟΙ ΠΡΑΣΙΝΟΙ

"Ετη πολλά, 'Ιουστινιανέ αὔγουστε· τοὺ βίκας.
'Αδικοῦμαι,   μόνε ἀγαθέ·
     οὺ βαστάζω,   οἶδεν ὁ θεός.[44]

Evidently Ennius is turning the elder Scipio into a forerunner of the emperors. But the Roman imagination thinks of its grandees in circus terms, and this is why the same idiom is found in Plautus' comedies:

> Alexandrum magnum atque Agathoclem aiunt maximas
> duo res gessisse: quid mihi fiet tertio,
> qui **solus** facio facinora immortalia? (*Most.* 775-78)

Fraenkel also adduces *Aul.* 701 ff.: *ego **solus** supero...ego sum ille rex Philippus.* Plautus is talking comically, and Ennius seriously, but the Roman aesthetic imagination hardly thinks in such polar extremes. Was not another of Ennius' patrons, M. Fulvius Nobilior, according to Livy the first to introduce both the *venatio* and athletics to the Roman public?[45] Did he keep his aesthetic perceptions in two compartments?

German scholars have fine passages on the psychology inspiring the fleeting identifications of Plautus and the circus. Can it ever be defined with precision what is meant by such mythical masking? Is it conscious claim and identification? Is it jest, ambivalent comparison, formula, or just poetic small change?[46] Perhaps all of these things at once. "A grotesque development projects the individual case into a fantastic world, adding to it huge dimensions and a coloring of motley unreality."[47] But are these not interpretative principles which might aid the understanding of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid?* "In his unbridled passion for images, Plautus links, with dizzying daring, things which are obviously mutually incompatible."[48] Does not Ennius, the Roman Homer and Callimachus rolled into one, do the same?

We may now draw together what makes Ennius typical of the Roman aesthetic imagination.
(a) The Romans apprehend myth quite differently from the classical Greeks. Perhaps the easiest way to summarize this difference is to say that they saw it through comic rather than tragic eyes. It was not a vanished ideal, "once upon a time," but rather something which could be recovered, and indeed surpassed, in the here and now. This is why

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[44]C. A. Trypanis, *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry* (Oxford 1968), no. 79.

[45]XXXIX. 22. 2. See Weissenborn − Müller *ad loc.*

[46]Cancik, *op. cit.* (above, note 16), p. 103.

[47]Fraenkel, *El. plautini,* p. 13: cf. p. 169.

[48]*El. plautini,* p. 53.

Ennius could describe the battles of consuls and tribunes in Homeric terms, while aiming to make a somewhat different impact on his audience from the trite equations implied by the Hellenistic historical epic. His listeners would be predisposed to see the present as something likely to be better than the past, rather than to recognize with a yawn the tired propaganda put out by hired mouthpieces. Alexander the Great had said that he would rather be Homer's Thersites than Choerilus of Iasos' Achilles, and he wept at Achilles' tomb because Achilles had had such a poet to celebrate his glory (and he had not). But, for the Roman, it was not a matter of second-best. Homer was alive and well and living in Rome, and Ennius could recite his pedigree to prove it.

(b) An important corollary follows about Ennius' sense of time. If the past is recoverable here and now, time may, in that recovery, be telescoped. The whole significance of the present is that it overcomes time, coalesces with the past and the future (Statius' *nec tardum seges occupabat annum*). Can it be coincidence that the parts of Ennius which Cicero quotes at greatest length are Ilia's dream and the taking of the omens by Romulus and Remus from the *Annales,* along with Cassandra's prophecy from the *Alexander?* Evidently these seemed to him congenial and characteristic. In every case, we are dealing with an incident in which the past or future is suddenly available in the present (and this is true too of the opening of the *Medea*). The telling simile used in one of these passages, the taking of the omens at the foundation of Rome, is drawn from the circus and its chariot races:

> Expectant, veluti consul cum mittere signum
> Volt omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras,
> Quam mox emittat pictis e faucibus currus,
> Sic expectabat populus atque ore timebat
> Rebus, utri magni victoria sit data regni.[49]

Here, the repetition *expectant, spectant, expectabat* shows us a present devoured by the future with which it is pregnant. It is the drum roll, before the trapeze artist does his leap. The Romans obviously knew in a notional way that Romulus had won. Suddenly certainty dissolves, and that notional knowledge is put in doubt by a consciousness of time's ambivalence. Breathlessly, we worship at the shrine of Cronus (Chronus) / Saturn.

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[49]Fr. 84-88 V (translated in part above, p. vii). See Friedlaender, *op. cit.* II, p. 48, who also quotes Tertullian, *De spect.* 16. The significance of seeing / not seeing at primitive spectacles is examined by O. Freudenberg, *Mif i Literatura Drevnosti* (Moscow 1978): cf. the "Summary" in English, pp. 601-02.

(c) The awareness of words is another aspect of an awareness of the many facets of metamorphosing truth. The scientist may seek to capture his aseptic reality in clinically pure prose. The poet estranges his discourse, makes us think about the distorting mirror which any language must be which seeks to reflect an elusive totality. Distorting mirrors make us laugh, and a language which calls attention to itself is likely to do just that. Now perhaps we can understand why Plautus did not follow the Greek New Comedy in its limpidly exquisite simplicity. He was a Roman, and had a more powerful sense of the grotesque.[50] By the same token, some of the extraordinary experiments of which Ennius is anxiously purged by his defenders may also spring from the same comic source, now raised to epic dignity, *geloion* become *spoudogeloion,* like so much in major European literature since. Once again, either / or categorizations are useless at Rome. In this regard, it may be quite wrong to set Ennius over against the Roman neoterics. They operated at the theoretical level with mutually exclusive, Alexandrian classifications. But at the practical level, Ennius may have been just as much a *cantor Euphorionis* in his way as any of his critics. His manipulation of the hexameter in the Ilia's Dream fragment is extraordinary. Later, Ausonius was able to incorporate some of the old poet's tricks into his *Technopaegnia.*[51]

(d) The Roman, and Ennian, addiction to *contaminatio*[52] is the product of the Roman attitude to time. The achievements of the past are not frozen, each a Platonic Form stored in a timeless heaven. One story may be seen in terms of another, be crossed with another, even at the expense of inconsistency, because the total effect sought is not one of clear logic. Lucian relates[53] that one mime dancer, in his depiction of the child-devouring Cronus, strayed into that of the supper of Thyestes, while another confounded the fiery death of Semele with that of Medea's victim Glauce. One wonders if these were mistakes on the part of the often brilliantly gifted dancers so much as incomprehension on the part of the critic. After all, we already saw in the fifth century

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[50]G. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton 1952), lists on pp. 345 ff. Plautus' comically extravagant inventions, part of a long tradition still flourishing in our time (Joyce).

[51]K. Quinn, *The Catullan Revolution* (Melbourne 1959), pp. 21-22. For Euphorion's monosyllabic endings cf. J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (repr. Oxford 1970), 4. 2; 122; 153 a.

[52]Somewhat played down by H. D. Jocelyn, *Ennius* (Cambridge 1967): see his index s.v. 'contaminatio'. But must not the remark of Terence, *Andria* prologue 16 ff. be given due weight?

[53]*De salt.* 80: Friedlaender II, p. 132.

B.C. another choric poet making similar "errors."[54]

To borrow an analogy from choral lyric, the Roman voice is not univocal, but polyphonic. Aeneas and Turnus play hide-and-seek with the Homeric stereotypes of Achilles and Hector because, in so complex a world, no simple equations with the fixed, heroic past are possible. *Senseram quam idem essent* Cicero had written in solemn earnest of Caesar and Pompey.[55] Manilius and Cassiodorus agree that, in its lighter aspect, such identity in diversity is the art of the pantomime.[56]

Virgil carries this Protean mutability into his epic. Seneca carries it into his tragedies. His Hippolytus is like Pentheus, his Phaedra like Pasiphaë, his Medea like Orestes. Lucan makes his Caesar and Pompey like Jason and Medea, who also came to grief in Thessaly. It is a Plautine technique, the *Comedy of Errors* suddenly become a nightmare.[57]

(e) The parallels for Roman imagination in Greek literature, if we are to do justice to a poet like Ennius, should be sought primarily in lyric and comedy. These are sometimes the same thing, since there is a comic — or komic — lyric. The boundless optimism of the Plautine world spills over into that of Ennius. At the court of Ptolemy Euergetes, Callimachus had assailed Euhemerus. Ennius translated him. Not Isis, as Ptolemaic propaganda declared, but human genius could transform the world.[58]

Mathematical logic operates with the concept of the "null class," basically meaning that a certain set of categories is handy, even when its real reference is minimal. In studying Roman literature, we need perhaps to operate with the concept of "suppressed laughter,"[59] that is to say, the comic apparatus continues to be deployed, even when the expected response is hardly a smile. The techniques are the same, but the scherzo is transposed into the minor mode. Does not Plato argue that comedy and tragedy are both likely to be written best by the same best poet? So in Roman literature, Ovid is Lucan's teacher, even though Lucan is not, ostensibly at least, writing a *Metamorphoses*. Reading some of the outrages detailed by the *Pharsalia,* we hardly know at times whether to laugh or cry. But Servius remarks in his preface to

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[54]Above, p.176.

[55]*Ad Att.* X. 8. 5: see *Augustus and the New Poetry* (above, note 17), pp. 249-50.

[56]Manilius V. 481: Cassiodorus, *Var.* IV. 51. 9: Friedlaender II, p. 129.

[57]*Aen.* IV. 465 ff.; XII. 908 ff. *in somnis.* "The whole *Aeneid* ends in a nightmare world": W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil* (Penguin 1966), p. 220.

[58]Cf. Callimachus, *Iamboi* I. 10-11; *Hymn* I. 8-9 (both against Euhemerus): on Sarapis / Isis, M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der gr. Religion* II (Munich 1961), p. 158.

the fourth book of the *Aeneid: paene comicus stilus est.*[60] If we could avoid categorizing Roman literature in terms of a classicizing hierarchy of genres — epic, tragedy, and only then comedy, lyric, satire — we might view its achievements in a juster perspective. What I am really saying is that the literary historian of Rome should begin from the *spoudogeloion.* This would carry the implication that Varro Reatinus is a major poet of the classical period.

(f) It is indeed Varro who records that once upon a time the Capitoline Hill overlooking Rome was called instead *Mons Saturnius,*[61] exactly, one may add, as the Hill of Cronus overlooked the Altis at Olympia. Varro points to Ennius' name for Latium, *Saturnia terra.* The *Sacra Historia* told how, driven all over the world by armed pursuers, Saturn had with difficulty found a refuge in Italy.[62] Saturn lived on in the Roman mind as the god of a golden age. Virgil himself promises that Augustus will restore that bountiful time: *aurea condet / saecula qui rursus Latio, regnata per arva / Saturno quondam* (*Aen.* VI. 792-94).[63] The blood of her father continued to flow in the veins of Juno, and Ennius does not want us to forget it: *Respondit Iuno Saturnia sancta dearum* (*Ann.* fr. 64 V: cf. 491). Juno represents some principle of opposition to Jupiter's purposes (*Ann.* fr. 291). All this is either completely unknown to Homer, or else, as in the case of Juno's opposition, slanted quite differently by the Roman poet.

The Roman state in Ennius' own lifetime had officially recognized the importance of both Saturn and Juno in new ways. In December 217, after the terrible defeats of Trasimene and Cannae, Livy reports that sacrifice was offered at the temple of Saturn and a *lectisternium* ordained, arranged by the senators themselves, along with a public feast: *ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus* (XXII. 1. 20). The *Saturnalia* had of course been celebrated long before 217. Livy's account describes some public acceptance by the authorities of a popular festival into state cult, no doubt occasioned by the desperate need to

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[59]M. Bakhtin, *Problemy Poetiki Dostoevskogo* (Moscow 1963), pp. 220 ff.

[60]Cf. Friedlaender, II, p. 119, note 5: "Interessant ist, dass sich hier (i.e. in the later imperial period) ein unverkennbares Eindringen von Elementen der Komödie in die Tragödie zeigt."

[61]*De Ling. Lat.* V. 42: *Ann.* frr. 25, 26-27 V.

[62]*Sacra Historia* 95-97 V.

[63]R. G. Austin adds in his edition of *Aeneid* VI (Oxford 1977) references to *Aen.* VIII. 319 ff.; *Geo.* II. 538. See also K. F. Smith's note on Tibullus I. 3. 35-48.

bolster morale.[64] This explains why Saturn is so much more important to Ennius than Cronus is to Homer.

Similarly, in 207, Juno received extraordinary honors on the Aventine, with a procession and hymn written by Livius Andronicus. A fragment of Livius (14 Morel = 12 Buechner) is variously attributed to this hymn, or to the *Odissia: sancta puer, Saturni filia, regina.* It has the same "Saturnian" ring as Ennius' *Iuno Saturnia.* Nothing corresponds to this in Homer.

The Roman *Saturnalia,* originally perhaps the celebration of the winter sowing, carried with them their own peculiar ethos, and notably the freedom granted to slaves. Horace's Davus takes advantage of it to read his master a Stoic lesson (*Sat.* II. 7). It is indeed the essence of this popular style to be open to question, polyphonic rather than monotonous. There never can be any final answers. But too great fidelity to the comic spirit entailed its own dangers: in Alexandria, there was the fate of Sotades (though Ennius did write *Sotadea*). In Rome, there was the fate of Naevius, who had written *Libera lingua loquemur ludis Liberalibus.* This was another rustic festival of fruitfulness and fertility. In spite of this, the tradition of free speech persisted at Rome to quite a surprising degree. Seven hundred years after Naevius (509 A.D.) Cassiodorus writes, paraphrasing Martial (who also wrote in Sotadic meter):

> Mores autem graves in spectaculo quis requirat? Ad Circum nesciunt convenire Catones. Quidquid illic a gaudenti populo dicitur, iniuria non putatur. Locus est qui defendit excessum. Quorum garrulitas si patienter excipitur, ipsos quoque principes ornare monstratur.[65]

Emperors and embryo-emperors had to tolerate this outspokenness on the part of their subjects. In 59 B.C. popular opposition to Julius Caesar made itself apparent, according to Cicero, in the theatre.[66] At the other end of the time scale, in Byzantium, the Hippodrome continued to provide an outlet for protests. A modern scholar remarks of the Acclamation of the Greens already quoted above (p. 186):

> Much has always been made of the remarkable complaint addressed to Justinian by the Greens....It is certainly a strange and interesting conversation, but those who argue (or imply) that this sort of interchange is a new development of the Byzantine period are evidently unaware what a thoroughly Roman tradition it is.[67]

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[64]K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte,* p. 254. R. M. Ogilvie on Livy II. 21. 2.

[65]*Var.* I. 27. 5 (Mommsen): cf. Martial, Book 1, *praef.*

[66]*Ad Att.* II. 19. 3: Friedlaender II, pp. 7-8.

[67]A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976), p. 162. For an older view see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Eng. trans. J. Hussey [repr. Oxford 1960]), p.

much imposing this interpretation, as simply rediscovering the intent of the Gospel narratives.[72] An emperor like Constantius II could enjoy the witticisms of the audience, and his subjects indulge in them, because, when understood in the proper spirit, such jokes were quite in harmony with the recognition of his claim to overlordship, were indeed a religious affirmation of his status. At the Roman triumph, the soldiers of the victorious general were permitted to make rude remarks about their leader, and at his side in the chariot a slave kept whispering *Hominem te memento,* rather like the priest on Ash Wednesday, after Mardi Gras the day before. But great generals — even Cicero — still craved triumphs!

At the end, a *caveat.* Although the triumphing general at the end turned his chariot up the Capitoline Hill, said by Varro to have been once the hill of Saturn, himself a carnival king, it does not look as if this spirit communicated itself to the *Annales.* Ancient tradition accuses Ennius anyway of having been a bad comedian, and Ennius does not seem to have leavened his fusions of myth and Roman reality with the necessary awareness of transience (Fraenkel's "identificazioni immediate"). In this regard, he may have been frightened by Naevius' fate, and the reminder given to the Romans by Accius in his *Annales* of the true nature of the Roman *Saturnalia,* in which master and slave reverse their roles, may have been pointed. This could also explain Accius' exaggerated notions of his own importance as a writer.[73] When later the great Augustan epics of Virgil and Ovid restored to their heroes the element of ambivalence missing in Ennius, they may have been truer to the essence of the Roman aesthetic imagination and, by giving it more convincing formulation, have contributed to the ultimate disappearance of their pioneering forebear.

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[72]M. Bakhtin, *Problemy Poetiki Dostoevskogo,* p. 181: P. Wendland, "Jesus als Saturnalien-König," *Hermes* XXXIII (1898), pp. 175-79: J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* VI (3rd ed., New York 1935), pp. 412-23.

[73]Schanz — Hosius (above, note 1), I, p. 132: contrast p. 88 η) on Ennius. The *maxima forma statua* is telling (Hellenistic princes, Nero, Domitian, Constantine): cf. *Quantam statuam faciet populus Romanus* of Scipio, Ennius, *Varia* 1: *magnis...signis,* Prop. II. 10. 21, flatteringly addressed to Augustus: Plautus, *Curculio* 139-40, 439 ff.: O. Weinreich, "Gebet und Wunder" in *Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid* (Stuttgart 1929), II Abhandlung (Türöffnung), p. 381, n. 19 from Fraenkel.

2

Plautus and Early Roman Tragedy

GEORGE A. SHEETS

The Plautine *palliata* is conventionally understood to be an adaptation of Hellenistic New Comedy to the very different tastes of a Roman audience. Thanks to a modern tradition of sympathetic Plautine criticism, a tradition which seems to have begun with Friedrich Leo[1] and is especially indebted to Fraenkel's great book on Plautus,[2] scholars now have a much higher regard for the literary merit of the Plautine *palliata* than was once the case.

However there has been no real change in the way Plautus' relationship to his Greek models is viewed. Concepts like "expansion," for example, or "omission," "conflation" (*contaminatio*) and other types of alterations detailed by Fraenkel in his account of Plautine composition, clearly reflect the perspective of the Greek models. The "alterations," after all, are alterations to these Greek models. Plautus himself seems to invite such a perspective in ostensibly programmatic statements like: *Philemo scripsit, Plautus vortit barbare,*[3] "Philemon wrote it, Plautus turned it into foreign fare." It is well known, of course, that *barbarus* and related forms tend to be used ironically by Plautus, so that this verse also could mean "Philemon wrote it, Plautus made it intelligible to you clods," and perhaps "Philemon wrote it, Plautus ruined it." But even when one makes allowance for the fact that the line is as much joke as statement of fact, it still seems to characterize Plautus' compositional method as the act of adapting a Greek model to a new purpose.

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[1] In particular, his *Plautinische Forschungen* (Berlin 1895) and *Geschichte der römischen Literatur,* I (Berlin 1913), pp. 133 ff.

[2] Eduard Fraenkel, *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence 1960).

[3] *Trin.* 19. I am using the text of W. M. Lindsay, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae,* 2 vols. (Oxford 1904-05).

Such a view of the Plautine method is generally associated with a rather unflattering assessment of the sophistication of the Roman audience. We have just seen that even in Plautus this attitude may have provided one of the ironies behind *barbarus.* It also persists as an assumption behind much Plautine scholarship. At one point in a recent essay on the nature of Roman comedy, for example, Konrad Gaiser seems to think of Plautus' audience as no more attentive than a pack of mules.[4] Referring to the Plautine prologue he notes that Plautus had to get the attention of his restive audience through uncouth means; he had to try to get hold of the people and drag them along with him; he had to amuse them with coarse jokes, and facilitate their comprehension of the play's plot.[5] In response to this judgment, one might wonder why Plautus bothered to try, if it was that hard to make the New Comedy palatable. Once again, however, it should be noted that Gaiser's remarks reflect the perspective of the Greek theatergoer, who apparently would not require the same degree of assistance in order to enjoy and understand such comedies.

To illustrate what I mean, let us briefly look at the Plautine *palliata* through the eyes of some Samnite enthusiast of the Atellan farce. Now one arrives at a very different judgment of Plautus' intentions, and a very different judgment of his audience as well. Lovable old Dossenus has been turned into an uppity Greek slave. One's enjoyment of the stooge, Pappus, has been undermined by seeing him burdened with a spineless and spendthrift son. Overall, a robust, national art form has been mongrelized and enfeebled just to gratify the Roman audience's unwholesome preoccupation with the underside of Hellenic culture. Now perhaps this alternative view of Plautine comedy is not widely held among non-Samnites, yet it seems only slightly less legitimate than the more traditional view of Plautus' dramatic purposes. It is true that Plautus never claims to be adapting Oscan mimes, as he does seem to claim with respect to Greek comedies, but there may be other reasons to account for that difference. Citing a Greek model, for example, was clearly something of a convention in the Roman *palliata,* a convention to be followed, ignored, or parodied, like any other in Plautus. As a convention, its relevance to Plautus' literary goals is questionable. Furthermore, we must remember that many of Plautus'

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[4]"Zur Eigenart der römischen Komödie," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* I. 2 (Berlin — New York 1972), p. 1035.

[5]"Plautus musste die Aufmerksamkeit seines unruhigen Publikums durch gröbere Mittel gewinnen. Er musste versuchen, die Leute zu packen und mitzureissen, musste sie mit derben Witzen unterhalten und ihnen das Verständnis des dramatischen Geschehens erleichtern" (*loc. cit.*).

plays do indeed ignore this convention, by failing to cite any model at all. Nevertheless, I am not seriously going to defend the Samnite's position on this issue. I am, however, going to challenge the Greek's. This I propose to do by treating the question of what Plautus did to his Greek models as essentially irrelevant. A more interesting and pertinent question seems to be: "What did the Greek models do to Plautus?"

At this point my own audience may be getting rather restive. "What," it may be asked, "does Plautus' relationship to his Greek models have to do with the title of this paper?" Actually, as I hope to demonstrate in what follows, the question of Plautus' response to contemporary Roman tragedy is closely involved with the question of how he used his Greek models; but it will take me a few minutes to show precisely how the two issues are interconnected. Our point of departure will be an examination of certain aspects of literary parody in Plautus. This, in turn, will bring us to a consideration of how the *palliata* acquired its own distinct literary identity. And from there we shall return to the issue which has been outlined in my introduction.

The nature and purposes of literary parody in Plautus form so large and complicated a subject that I cannot hope to deal comprehensively with it here. Fortunately, however, a comprehensive review is not required for my purposes, although a few general remarks would be in order before I turn to the more detailed consideration of certain specific issues.

Over the past century, scholars have devoted increasing attention to the nature and purposes of literary parody[6] in Plautus. Leo, in his *Plautinische Forschungen*,[7] had identified what he considered to be two general types of literary parody. One of these types was the parody of some situation familiar from tragedy or epic. A good example is the distraught messenger's speech, such as Pardalisca's *canticum* from the *Casina*.

621   Nulla sum, nulla sum, tota, tota occidi,
        cor metu mortuomst, membra miserae tremunt,
        nescio unde auxili, praesidi, perfugi
        mi aut opum copiam comparem aut expetam:
625   tanta factu modo mira miris modis
        intus vidi, novam atque integram audaciam. (*Cas.* 621 ff.)

Pardalisca has burst out of the house pretending that the delectable

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[6]The interesting questions of self-parody and parody of strictly comedic conventions are omitted from consideration here.

[7]Above, note 1, pp. 119 ff.

Casina has gone mad and is chasing other members of the household
with a sword in her hand and murder in her heart. Quite obviously the
scene evokes a situation common in tragedy where a messenger
recounts some mayhem which has taken place offstage. The mock-
tragic tone of Pardalisca's song is realized through a number of stylistic
features which are characteristic of contemporary Roman tragedy. As
examples of such features the following can be mentioned: (1) the
repetition of words and phrases for pathetic effect, e.g., *nulla sum, nulla
sum, tota, tota occidi* (v. 621); (2) the abundant alliteration, e.g., *cor
metu mortuomst, membra miserae tremunt* (v. 622, cf. 625); and (3) the
striving for amplitude through weighty periphrases and grandiloquent
juxtapositions of near synonyms, e.g., *opum copiam* (v. 624) in place of
a simple *opes,* and *auxili, praesidi, perfugi* (v. 623, cf. 625).

The other type of literary parody which Leo attributed to Plautus
differs from the first in that it involves the use of ostensibly tragedic
style in contexts which are otherwise completely free of tragic associa-
tions. A good example comes from the *Pseudolus,* where Calidorus is
greeted by the play's namesake.[8] Pseudolus announces that he will
greet his man in the grand manner (*magnifice*), and thereupon modu-
lates into the following passage:

> io te, te, turanne, te, te ego, qui imperitas Pseudolo,
> quaero quoi ter trina triplicia, tribu' modis tria gaudia,
> 705   artibus tribu' tris demeritas dem laetitias, de tribus
> 705a fraude partas per malitiam, per dolum et fallacias;
> in libello hoc opsignato ad te attuli pauxillulo.
> CALI. illic homost. CH. ut paratragoedat carnufex!

This passage is particularly interesting because of the comment upon it
which is offered by Charinus in v. 707: *ut paratragoedat carnufex!* By
putting this observation into the scene, Plautus unambiguously reveals
an explicit consciousness of caricaturing tragedic style. The passage
enables us, therefore, to identify at least some of the devices which the
poet specifically associates with such style. Most obvious are the same
features which we noticed in connection with Pardalisca's *canticum:*
anadiplosis, pleonasm, alliteration and parechesis. Additionally, one
might call attention to the paronomasia and polyptoton involving the
numeral *tres* and related forms, the anaphora of *tribus* and *per,* the word
imperitas in v. 703, which seems to be something of a gloss in place of
the more customary *imperas,* and the grand sounding abstract nouns
malitiam and *fallacias* in verse 705a. Yet, although all of this rhetorical
finery undoubtedly does have its counterpart in contemporary Roman

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[8] *Pseud.* 703 ff.

tragedy, we must beware of jumping to the unwarranted conclusion that such features are tragedic in any specific or exclusive sense. The uncertainty exists because many of these same features comprise a pervasive aspect of what has to be counted "normal" Plautine style too. Glosses, for example, are liberally scattered throughout Plautus, sometimes appearing in passages otherwise of the utmost plainness. Thus the appearance of one here is unlikely to be "parodic" in any obvious way. The same point could be made of the grand sounding abstract nouns,[9] the anaphora, the word play and almost all of the remaining features.[10] Certainly the anadiplosis, however, here amusingly reduced to a virtual stammer in verse 703, as well as the excruciating pleonasm of verses 704 ff., not to mention the spluttering alliteration which permeates the whole passage, are here being overworked to parodic effect. Perhaps not coincidentally, these were the very same markings which stood out in the *Casina* passage we looked at earlier. We might tentatively conclude, then, that the most salient characteristics of tragedic style *per se,* at least as satirized by Plautus in these two passages, would appear to be its noisiness and wordiness.

More than one scholar has seen an allusion in verse 703 of this same passage to the notorious Ennian hexameter: *O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti.*[11] Syntactically, however, the two passages are quite dissimilar, and their shared alliteration seems to be due to accident more than design. Whereas the Ennian alliteration depends upon an elaborate and artificial pattern of word choice and polyptoton, the effect in Plautus results simply and inescapably from the anadiplosis. No doubt the shared word *turanne* has provided the strongest inducement for connecting these two passages, but again coincidence may be the better explanation. The choice of word is well motivated in the context of an address by a *servus callidus* to his *erus adulescens,* particularly when the mode of address is styled to be *magnufice.* Furthermore the word echoes a type of metaphorical description which is perfectly common elsewhere in Plautus.[12] Taken together, these points argue against connecting the Plautine and Ennian lines, despite their superficial similarity. Nevertheless, our discussion of them has served to introduce an important issue in the study of Plautine parody, namely to what extent

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[9]G. Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum,* 2 vols. (Leipzig 1924-32), s.vv.

[10]Except perhaps the anadiplosis which Plautus often parodies to good effect: e.g., *Miles* 415: SC. *Palaestrio, o Palaestrio!* PA. *o Sceledre, Sceledre, quid vis?;* cf. *Poen.* 1195-96. Both passages are cited by A. Thierfelder, "Plautus und römische Tragödie," *Hermes* 74 (1939), pp. 155-66.

[11]109 V.

[12]E.g. *Capt.* 825: *non ego nunc parasitus sum, sed regum rex regalior.*

Plautus parodies, if he does so at all, specific works and passages of contemporary tragedy and epic.

It is difficult to answer this question with any assurance, in view of the very fragmentary remains of tragedy and epic from this period of Roman literature. My own opinion is that many of the alleged examples of such parody in Plautus are mirages, much like the probably spurious connection between the two passages which were just discussed. Yet not all of the examples proposed by scholars in this regard can be so easily dismissed. One of the most convincing comes from the famous "Trojan" canticum of the *Bacchides*, in which the victorious slave, Chrysalus, compares his complete duping of the *senex* to the sack of Troy:[13]

925   Atridae duo fratres cluent fecisse facinus maxumum,
        quom Priami patriam Pergamum divina moenitum manu
        armis, equis, exercitu atque eximiis bellatoribus
        milli cum numero navium decumo anno post subegerunt.
        non pedibus termento fuit praeut ego erum expugnabo meum
930   sine classe sineque exercitu et tanto numero militum.
        cepi, expugnavi amanti erili filio aurum ab suo patre.
        nunc prius quam huc senex venit, lubet lamentari dum exeat.
        o Troia, o patria, o Pergamum, o Priame periisti senex,
        qui misere male mulcabere quadrigentis Philippis aureis.
935   nam ego has tabellas opsignatas, consignatas quas fero
        non sunt tabellae, sed equos quem misere Achivi ligneum.

I will not discuss the, to me unconvincing, suggestion of Marmorale and others,[14] that this passage is an extensive travesty of a song from Naevius' *Trojan Horse*, but wish to concentrate instead on the often repeated judgment that verse 933 of Chrysalus' song, *o Troia, o patria, o Pergamum, o Priame periisti senex,* alludes to the opening line of the famous lament of Andromache in Ennius' *Andromacha: O pater o patria o Priami domus!*[15] It is not just the shared alliteration, or even the shared vocabulary which supports the connection — both features are simply too natural in this context to be of much weight. The parallel rhythm and word order are perhaps stronger evidence. But what seems the strongest evidence is the lack of motivation for such an apostrophe in this specific song. One could remove verses 932-34 of the song without causing the slightest disturbance to the flow of the surrounding context. Verse 932, in particular, shows up as a very lame transition to

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[13] *Bacch.* 925 ff.

[14] *Naevius Poeta* (3rd ed., Florence 1953), p. 147; cf. E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin,* vol. 2 (London and Cambridge, Mass. 1967), pp. 116-17.

the apostrophe, since the satiric "lament" which it introduces is immediately given up in favor of a return to the comic elaboration of the Trojan metaphor. Thus there seems little reason for such an apostrophe, and little effect to it, unless it serves to evoke a memorable *tour de force* which was known to the audience from elsewhere.

On the assumption that Chrysalus' apostrophe does allude to the lament of Andromache, it is interesting that the nature of this "parody," to call it that, seems to invite no ridicule of its target. Such satiric effect could easily have been achieved by, for example, extending the apostrophe for another phrase or two. But Plautus has avoided such satire here and, I would argue, in all other similar contexts. What is the allusion's purpose then? Fraenkel has shown how the Plautine *servus callidus* typically compares his own exploits with the deeds of gods, heroes, and famous men from Greek myth and history. An example can be found in the guiding motif of the very canticum we are discussing; namely, Chrysalus' self-comparison with the Atreids.[16] The comic self-importance conveyed by such conceits is thoroughly in keeping with the larger-than-life character of the *servus*. It would follow that much the same purpose is served by evoking "high" literature. The fun arises from the presumption of the *servus*. It does not depend upon something inherently humorous in the style of the allusion itself, nor in its target. My point is simply that ostensibly parodic allusions of this type serve to complement and assist in the development of a comedic convention, rather than to form the focus of a joke. As such they are not truly parodic, at least not in the sense of embodying satire or caricature of their models.

Thus far we have reviewed three different kinds of literary parody in Plautus. There was the parodic evocation of a situation familiar from tragedy or epic; the caricature of certain stylistic flourishes typically found in tragedic language; and the parodic allusion to some specific work of contemporary high literature. Of these three phenomena, the first is quite common. One thinks of the additional examples provided by prophetic dreams in the *Miles* and the *Rudens,* the ravings of a maddened character in the *Menaechmi* and the *Mercator,* the threat of suicide in the *Cistellaria,* the eye-witness account of an epic battle in the *Amphitruo,* and other similar instances. Conversely, the frequency of parodic allusion to specific works of literature is much more difficult to assess, in view of the very fragmentary remains of tragedy and epic which have survived from this period. With regard to those very few

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[15]92-99 V.

[16]On this canticum in particular see *Elementi Plautini,* pp. 62 ff.

examples which have been plausibly conjectured,[17] the following gen-
eralizations can be hazarded. The model is evoked, either by a close
verbal echo or by name, in a context of surrounding magniloquence.
The allusion is fleeting and clearly subsidiary to the larger effect of that
context. And lastly, the purpose of the allusion is simply to augment
the hyperbole of the idiom of self-characterization. In assessing the
frequency of the remaining type of literary parody, the caricature of
high style *per se,* there arises a problem to which we must now devote
more particular attention.

       The traditional view of the difference between the style of Plautus
and that of contemporary tragedy and epic is that the former is a
reflection of the *sermo cottidianus,* while the latter has its origin in the
ceremonial language of old Roman religion and law. Certainly there is
a basis in fact for this view, but so bald a formulation of it is
oversimplified. Anaphora, pleonasm, exotic vocabulary, archaic mor-
phology, mnemonic alliteration — such elements of style assuredly
were derived originally from juridical and religious language, where
they served an obvious functional purpose. Once they had defined the
idiom of the earliest Roman literature, however, they were free to be
extended or modified in whatever direction the development of litera-
ture chose to take them. Many students of Plautine language, such as
Jean-Pierre Cèbe in his stimulating and helpful book just mentioned on
caricature and parody in Roman art, have assumed that the ceremonial
style is not natural to comedy, and therefore must be parodic of some-
thing external to comedy. Such a view would be more convincing, if all
the instances of ceremonial style were limited to contexts of obviously,
or even plausibly, parodic intent. But the facts are otherwise. Let us
consider a passage like the following, for example, a stretch of *senarii* in
which Saturio, the splendid parasite of the *Persa,* introduces himself to
the audience.[18]

    53   Veterem atque antiquom quaestum maiorum meum
            servo atque optineo et magna cum cura colo.
    55   nam numquam quisquam meorum maiorum fuit
            quin parasitando paverint ventris suos:
            pater, avos, proavos, abavos, atavos, tritavos
            quasi mures semper edere alienum cibum,
            neque edacitate eos quisquam poterat vincere,
    60   neque is cognomentum erat duris Capitonibus.

Saturio's language incorporates most of the hallmarks of the ceremonial

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[17]See J.-P. Cèbe, *La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain* (Paris 1966), pp.
103 ff.

[18]*Persa* 53 ff.

style. There is the fulsomeness — *servo atque optineo et magna cum cura colo* (54); parechesis and alliteration — *nam numquam quisquam meorum maiorum* (55); glosses, including both elevated abstract nouns and archaisms — *edacitate* (59), *cognomentum* (60); and the list could be extended. Such language is clearly bombastic, but in what sense can it be parodic? When virtually every scene of almost every play contains examples of similar bombast, the sheer abundance of the phenomenon seems to preclude any intention of stylistic parody. This, then, is the problem: if the ceremonial style is a Plautine addition to the idiom of comedy, then what effect was sought — or achieved, whether sought or not — by working it to such excess?

Probably the most commonly accepted answer to this question is the one suggested by Fraenkel. In his discussion of the aesthetic differences which separate the Plautine *palliata* from its Greek New Comedy models, Fraenkel calls attention to fundamental differences in the cultural contexts of the two art forms. A simple fact like the different social status of the actors — citizens in the Greek setting, slaves and foreigners in the Roman — will undoubtedly have influenced the way in which these plays were approached by their respective audiences. Fraenkel argues that the form of Greek New Comedy was perfectly suited to the particular cultural interests which had brought about its development. Once transplanted onto Roman soil, however, a living and evolving organism became an artificial and arbitrary device for serving quite different aesthetic purposes.[19] The thesis of Fraenkel's book, of course, is that Plautus sensed these different purposes naturally, and that he transformed the style of Greek comedy to conform to them, while keeping the form of Greek comedy more or less intact. A primitive artistic taste, he argues, is not satisfied with a portrait of ordinary daily life.[20] In other words, the Romans had no use for the kind of "realism" for which Menander was so much admired. Fraenkel continues:

> Plauto e il suo pubblico pretendono dal dramma l'inconsueto: se gli originali non sono pronti ad offrirlo, provvede il rielaboratore a inserirvelo per forza. Grazie a tali interventi, in non pochi passi anche la commedia romana fornì, almeno ai suoi spettatori, gli stessi elementi che per quel medesimo pubblico costituivano una delle maggiori attrattive della tragedia.[21]

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[19] *Elementi Plautini* (above, note 2), p. 367.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

It is, then, to this alleged taste for the grand and the different that Fraenkel assigns Plautus' extensive use of the language of tragedy. The point seems to be that Roman audiences liked their tragedy and wanted their comedy to be stylistically similar to it. What are the implications of this view for the question of stylistic parody in Plautus? One seems to be that much or most of the ostensibly tragedic style in the plays is not parodic at all, being instead a kind of motif, like the leatherette cushion on a seat of molded plastic in a McDonald's restaurant. But a second implication might be that there was no distinct tragedic language which the Roman audience perceived as fundamentally different from the language of comedy. Such was not, I believe, the view of Fraenkel, but I hope to show that it deserves consideration none the less.

With these observations in mind, let us now set about answering the question which was articulated in the introduction to this paper: "What did the Greek models do to Plautus?" To answer this question will entail defending the following specific propositions.

(1) At the time when it came into being in the later third century, Roman literature was characterized by a relatively homogeneous style and range of subjects — namely those shared by epic and tragic poetry.

(2) The first 80 years or so of Roman literary development, down to the time of Terence in the mid-second century, witnessed the gradual emergence of the *palliata* as a distinct and independent genre with its own stylistic identity. An important corollary to this proposition is another one: that the origin and evolution of the Roman *palliata* can be viewed as essentially a process of increasing differentiation from the genre of tragedy.

(3) Plautine comedy represents a kind of mid-point, or perhaps critical turning point, in the evolution of the *palliata.*

(4) To view Plautine comedy in this way helps to explain its style more satisfactorily than the traditional view which assigns a separate identity to the *palliata* from the beginning. Moreover this evolutionary view of the *palliata* is consistent with other developments in Roman literature of the archaic period.

Let me now take up a defense and more detailed discussion of these propositions.

In referring to the essential homogeneity of early Latin literary style, I do not mean to suggest that tragedy and comedy were indistinguishable at some point in the Roman past. Instead I am proposing that each successive stage of the development of formal literature in the Greek manner at Rome — beginning first with Livius Andronicus'

retelling of the Homeric *Odyssey,* turning later to tragedy and *praetextae,* later still to *togatae* and *palliatae* — involved some measure of stylistic differentiation from its predecessors. In the case of the *palliata,* this differentiation reflected at least two external influences. One was the vulgarization of literary style in response to the popular idiom of improvisational farce. The other was an increasing accommodation to the elegant plainness of the style of Greek New Comedy. The case for this evolutionary view of the development of the *palliata* rests partly on a number of characteristics which the *palliata* shares with tragedy in the time of Plautus, but which it has given up by the time of Terence. One of these, as we have seen, is the apparently purposeless abundance of ostensibly tragedic language in Plautus. Another is the form itself of the *palliata,* which clearly imitates and, therefore, is probably derived from the form of tragedy. Fraenkel's well-known theory about the origin of the Plautine *cantica*[22] is a perfect illustration of what I mean. The problem of the *cantica,* it will be remembered, is that Hellenistic New Comedy has none — this despite the fact that such songs are perhaps the most distinctive and artistically polished elements in Plautine dramaturgy. Fraenkel demonstrated that *cantica* were also present in the earliest Roman tragedy. From this identity he deduced that Plautus had imported the convention of lyric song from tragedy into comedy. But another way of accounting for the identity would be that Plautus (or perhaps some predecessor like Naevius) imported the plots and cast of characters of Greek comedy into the preexisting form of Roman drama, which was perforce tragedy.

Another formal identity between the two genres was clarified in an important study of poetic language in early Latin literature by Fraenkel's pupil, Heinz Haffter.[23] Haffter demonstrated something very interesting about the statistical distribution of the more highly marked elements of tragedic style in Plautus. He found that archaisms, etymological figures, periphrases, abstract nouns, and other such elements tended to occur much more frequently in the *cantica,* the trochaic long-verse, and the expository opening lines of individual scenes. In other words, the distribution of tragedic language is primarily a function of the formal structure of the play, rather than of its content. This suggests that the bulk of such language is not an aesthetic innovation by Plautus, but is instead merely a reflection of the artistic form in which he composed. Haffter noted that this distribution more or less corresponds to the division between the underlying Greek model and the Plautine additions to it. He saw it as a confirmation of Fraenkel's

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[22] *Ibid.,* pp. 307 ff.

thesis that it was precisely in these formal additions to the Greek models that Plautus showed the greatest stylistic independence from the Greek models. But once again, a negative image of the same picture gives us Roman tragedy as the starting point; the innovation is an increasing approximation to the style and aesthetic of Greek comedy.

I have suggested that the Roman *palliata* ought not to be thought of as a genre which was born fully formed. Such an argument makes sense not only in view of the vast differences between Plautine and Terentian comedy, but even from the considerable variety of style and form which one encounters within the corpus of Plautus. Some plays, like the *Miles,* have few or no *cantica.* Some, like the *Captivi* and *Trinummus,* are so serious in tone as to appear almost un-Plautine. Some plays contain unique formal experiments, like the parabasis of the *Curculio* or the vaudevillian amorphousness of the *Stichus.* Others, like the *Mercator,* seem unusually faithful to the structure of Greek New Comedy. This variety seriously undermines the thesis of John Wright's interesting and influential study entitled *Dancing in Chains: the Stylistic Unity of the Comoedia Palliata.*[24] Wright argues that there was really only one conventional form of the genre, and that Terence's work was a generally unpopular break with tradition. But surely the evidence of the Plautine corpus reveals that the *palliata* was a series of comedic experiments. The variety and extent of these experiments disprove the existence of any canonical form to the genre, at least as Plautus practiced it.

Looking at the subject in this way gives us a different view of Plautus' method of composition. As opposed to adapting Greek comedy to Roman tastes, he appears to be participating in the creation of a new Roman comedy, one which combines the formal structure of Roman tragedy with much of the style and humor of the country farce. Added to this concoction are the romantic, at least to a Roman audience, and faraway settings and plots of Greek comedies.

Both Leo and Fraenkel called attention to the extraordinary similarities between Plautine and Aristophanic comedy. They felt these were due to a combination of coincidence and putative vestiges of Old Comedy style in the Greek models which Plautus was borrowing from. We might note, however, that the relationship which I am proposing between Plautine comedy and contemporary Roman tragedy is very similar to that which existed between Aristophanes and Attic tragedy of the fifth century. In both cases the comedic genre feeds on the form

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[23] *Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache* (Berlin 1934).

[24] American Academy in Rome Papers and Monographs XXV (Rome 1974).

and style of its counterpart in high literature. In neither case could that form of comedy have existed in the absence of the tragedic genre to which it responded. The larger than life quality of the Aristophanic hero and of the Plautine trickster, the lyric song, the criticism of literary style and all of the word-play which results from a stylistic self-consciousness born of such criticism, the burlesque stage effects ˜— these and other elements shared by the two authors are motivated by their similar response to tragedy. Two other major components in Aristophanic comedy appear to have been Sicilian mime and some sort of formalized country pageantry. As has already been suggested, two other components in Plautine comedy were the Greek New Comedy and the Italian country farce.

The evolutionary direction taken by the *palliata* was an increasing fidelity to the style and form of Greek New Comedy. In Terence, the lyric meters of Roman tragedy have given way almost exclusively to the iambic and trochaic measures of his Hellenistic models. The characters of heroic dimension, like Ballio the pimp and Tranio the slave, have been largely replaced by the unspectacular, even if psychologically more interesting, roles of Menander. Hyperboles of language, both the bombastic grand style and the coarseness of the mime, have surrendered to the quiet refinement of an elegant *sermo cottidianus.*

In a well-known passage from the prologue to the *Andria*, Terence defends himself against the charge of spoiling his Greek models, by citing Plautus as an example of an acknowledged classic who was equally free in his use of Greek material. At first sight it seems surprising that an author whose style is so fundamentally different from that of Plautus can claim to be doing the same thing as Plautus did. Yet from the point of view proposed in this paper, they were indeed both doing the same thing — both were freely borrowing from Greek comedy whatever they found of use, and ignoring the rest. For this reason, incidentally, Fraenkel is not convincing when he argues that Plautus was placed under certain constraints by his Greek models — for example in that he was forced to obey a convention of dramatic unity.[25] The *Stichus* and *Miles* by themselves suffice to show that Plautus felt no such constraint. But as the *palliata* became more and more faithful to, and therefore dependent upon, Hellenistic New Comedy, such conventions no doubt did become more compulsory.

The development of the *palliata* to a canonical and Hellenic form reflects a similar development in the other genres of Roman literature of the second century. Ennius' Greek-style epic, for example, with its

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[25] *Op. cit.* (above, note 2), p. 373.

Alexandrian aesthetic orientation and rejection of the native bardic tradition, and, most importantly, with its immense literary self-consciousness, is a very close parallel to the formalization of the *palliata* under Terence. Similarly in tragedy, although the evidence is very meager, it appears that Accius in the later second century followed still further in the direction which had been set by Pacuvius toward greater fidelity to contemporary Greek drama.[26] It is noteworthy that his *Didascalica,* as well as the *Satires* of Lucilius, reveal an academic interest in literature which is akin to the discussion of literary issues found in Terence. My point is that the increasing Hellenization of the *palliata* reflects both an increasing Hellenization of Roman art generally, and a corresponding formalization of what constituted viable literature.

An answer has now been proposed to the question which was put in the introduction to this paper. A rendering into Latin of Hellenistic New Comedy ought not to be thought the central goal of Plautus' comedic interests. Certainly the Greek comedy was a critically important component in the heterogeneous form of comedy which Plautus was instrumental in developing. But it was only that — a component. A play like the *Amphitruo,* of course, does not even have a New Comedy model. Yet Plautus' comedic interests did not follow in the direction to which that particular experiment pointed. Instead it led to the formalization of the *palliata* as we know it under Terence.

Let me conclude by observing that the thesis which I have proposed in this paper has a particular application to the theme of this conference. In a well-known passage of the *Attic Nights* (II. 23), Gellius compares several passages of Caecilius' *Plocium* with the Menandrian *loci* on which they are ostensibly modeled. To Gellius' mind, Caecilius shows up very badly in this comparison. Not only, we are told, is no attempt made to render whole passages of Menandrian elegance, but Caecilius even stoops so low as to replace such passages with a lot of vulgar humor taken from the mime. He sacrifices the purity and realism of Menander's language (*sinceritatem veritatemque verborum*) to the bloated language of tragedy (*verba tragici tumoris*). Gellius concludes by offering the judgment: *non puto Caecilium sequi debuisse quod assequi nequiret.*[27]

Gellius' judgment of Caecilius is not unlike the view which many critics have formed of Plautus. It is a view which may already have been emerging in the time of Terence, although it was certainly furthered by the stylistic prescriptions of the later Republic, when *puritas* was

[26]F. Leo, *Geschichte der r. Literatur* (above, note 1), pp. 397 ff.

[27]II. 23. 22.

the nearly universal watchword of all who aspired to good Latinity. Cicero, for example, disparages the use of tragic style in comedy, and of comic style in tragedy.[28] The same sentiment is echoed by Horace (*AP* 89) and Quintilian (X. 2. 22). The proper avoidance of the Scylla and Charybdis of tragedic bloating and mimic buffoonery is a quality which Euanthius[29] much admired in Terence, while at the same time deploring its absence in Plautus and other early comedians. But perhaps this whole tradition of anti-Plautine criticism in later Roman literature is founded on a misunderstanding of what Plautus was attempting to do. If we could ask Plautus directly about the judgment of posterity, he might reply in the words which he gave to more than one of his glorious *servi: bene ludificatumst,* which perhaps we may paraphrase as, "They missed the point entirely!"

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[28] *De opt. gen. or.* I.

[29] The obscure author of the essay on comedy which accompanies Donatus' commentary to Terence. The argument is found at III. 5 (p. 20 W).

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Roman Poets as Literary Historians
Some Aspects of *Imitatio*[1]

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Literary history — like the history of any art — involves a special difficulty; it is that of reconciling a general scheme of development and a linear movement in time with the problem of the individual genius who creates new things. That has not been made easier in recent years when New Critics tried to expel the writer from the text, and then Deconstructionists called the very existence of the text into question. Yet literary history is fundamental to our studies, and this essay starts from the observation that every poet perforce indulges in literary history (sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly) in order to establish a position for himself in an already existing tradition. For originality matters, and always did.

The concept of *imitatio* was particularly useful to Roman poets as a tool for analyzing the relation of a writer to his predecessors. But the concept itself is complex and two aspects of it will be distinguished in what follows.[2] First there is *imitatio exemplorum,* imitation of models; this tends to be focussed on questions of form and style. Second there

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[1] An early version of this paper was the subject of a seminar at the Humanities Research Centre of the Australian National University; I am most grateful to the Director and other Research Fellows for their help and criticism. I owe a further debt to members of the audience at the Conference in the University of Minnesota for their helpful comments.

[2] See especially on this point and generally for what follows: R. McKeon, "Literary Criticism and the Concept of Imitation in Antiquity," *Modern Philology* 34 (1936), pp. 1-35; H. Koller, *Die Mimesis in der Antike: Nachahmung, Darstellung, Ausdrücke* (Berne 1954); A. Reiff, "Interpretatio, imitatio, aemulatio: Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern" (Diss. Köln 1959); D. A. Russell in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature,* ed. David West and Tony Woodman (Cambridge University Press 1979), pp. 1-16.

is *imitatio vitae,* the Platonic and Aristotelian concept that art imitates reality, that it holds up a mirror to life; this tends to be focussed on content. Roughly speaking it could be said that the former aspect can be used to explain continuity and development, the latter to give an account of individual genius. That is, *imitatio exemplorum* can be used to estimate a writer's position in the pre-existing tradition; *imitatio vitae* can estimate his originality. But that formulation is clearly faulty, and there is as much difficulty in keeping the two aspects of *imitatio* separate, as there is in maintaining a distinction between form and content. For ideas can come as readily from reading predecessors as they can from immediate personal experience, and the very dichotomy of form and content seems to be denied in the rhetorical practice of poets from Catullus to Horace (which did not, however, inhibit their use of the dichotomy when it was useful to them theoretically).[3]

The problem was made the more acute for early Roman poets by a particular circumstance that makes early Roman literature a fascinating area for study. Generally, if allowance is made for individual quirks of archaism or a special interest in imitating much earlier writers, each successive writer can to some extent define himself in terms of his relation to his immediate predecessors. That is true too of early Roman poets, but the situation was immensely complicated by the existence of a constant interference that distorted the system. Each Roman writer was forced to confront and interpret afresh for himself a long-existing and permanent body of highly sophisticated literature in Greek. In fact, the development of Roman literature can also be measured by the nature and the extent of the increase in Roman understanding of Greek literary culture (and that was one criterion that Cicero used in his *Brutus* as an index of progress in the history of oratory in Rome).

The analysis that follows will be partial and idiosyncratic: Pacuvius and Accius will regretfully be omitted, as will the *Odes* of Horace. But these — and many others — can easily be found a place in the scheme. My aim is not to be complete, but to explore a curious continuity in the attitudes of Roman poets from earliest times to the age of Augustus.

The strange origins of Roman literature and its Athena-like birth are vital factors in its history till the time of Ovid. In some ways the writers themselves are their own best historians. Most poets felt constrained to confront this situation explicitly as part of their own poetic activity; in a few it has to be sought in implications. But all of them

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[3]This is the general thesis of my *Figures of Thought in Roman Poetry* (Yale University Press 1980).

had to find their places in a gravitational field of a complexity quite unknown to any Greek. To them, as to any poet, originality was of prime importance. Although that could be defined slightly differently at different periods and in different genres, what was always needed was the establishment of a distance from predecessors that could accommodate the traditional and even the conventional but absolutely exclude anything approaching mere repetition or plagiarism.

I. The Early Poets

Two series of fragments of the *Annales* have been preserved in which Ennius confronted his own situation theoretically. The first is now only a mere patchwork of tiny fragments and comments by later writers. They come from what was an initiation-scene at the beginning of the epic in which Ennius had a dream on the mountain of the Muses.[4] In the course of the dream Homer appeared and revealed that, after various metempsychoses, his own soul had now passed finally into Ennius' body. What is happening here is that Ennius is claiming explicitly to be *Homerus redivivus,* Homer returned to life: that is, he is not one of the Homeridae so frequently mocked by the poets of Alexandria, but in some sense the revered Homer himself. Thus he escapes Alexandrian criticism that was directed against imitations of Homer. The consequence is a further implicit claim: in this Latin epic on the history of Rome Ennius is doing with the Roman material what Homer would have done had he been a Roman. This establishes the proper generic connection which resides in certain aspects of the form, but it also leaves room for a claim to originality both in content and in the linguistic relationship of Latin with Greek.

The other fragments are from a second prooemium with which Ennius opened the seventh book (or the third triad) of the *Annales.* The text is uncertain in details,[5] but the main ideas are clear (213-17 Vahlen):

> scripsere alii rem
> versibus quos olim Faunei vatesque canebant,
> cum neque Musarum scopulos....
> ...nec dicti studiosus quisquam erat ante hunc.
> nos ausi reserare....

Others have written history in meters that Fauns and oracle-mongers used to chant, since no one had yet scaled the rocks of the Muses or

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[4]See O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana* (London 1968), pp. 18-29, with further references.
[5]Skutsch, *op. cit.,* pp. 31-34 and 119-29, with further references.

achieved real learning before me; it was I who unloosed the bars <of the gates to Parnassus>....

This is an outspoken and arrogant denial of any *imitatio* by Ennius of his Roman predecessors; they used Saturnian meter (not Homeric hexameters); they could make no claim to φιλολογία (*doctrina*); and they owed their inspiration to the Italic fountain goddesses, the Camenae, not to the Greek Muses. Cicero recognized that Ennius was here trying to deny any influence or merit to Naevius, and he made this blunt comment (*Brutus* 75-76):

> Tamen illius, quem in vatibus et Faunis adnumerat Ennius, Bellum Poenicum quasi Myronis opus delectat. sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior; qui si illum, ut simulat, contemneret, non omnia bella persequens primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum reliquisset. sed ipse dicit cur id faciat. 'Scripsere', inquit, 'alii rem vorsibus' — et luculente quidem scripserunt, etiam si minus quam tu polite. nec vero tibi aliter videri debet, qui a Naevio vel sumpsisti multa, si fateris, vel, si negas, surripuisti.

> However the *Bellum Poenicum* of him [Naevius] whom Ennius reckons among oracle-mongers and Fauns gives the same pleasure as a work of <the sculptor> Myron. One may agree that Ennius is — as he certainly is — more polished. But if he really despised <Naevius> as he pretends, he would not, in recording the history of all the wars, have omitted that most bitter first Punic was. But he himself tells us why he does that. "Others," he says "have written the history in verse" — and very well they wrote too, even if less smoothly than you. And you have no reason to think otherwise, since you either took many things from Naevius if you confess it, or you stole them if you deny it.

Cicero, the literary historian, was deeply offended by Ennius' denial of a debt to a distinguished predecessor and he takes him to task severely, schoolmaster-fashion, in direct apostrophe.   Ennius was clearly anxious to establish his originality against all Roman predecessors by claiming a debt only to Greeks.   But Cicero saw, and had clear evidence for his perception, that *imitatio exemplorum* cannot be avoided by any writer and, even more important, that for a Roman poet that necessarily involves *imitatio* of Latin predecessors.

No fragment of Ennius' dramatic poetry shows him reflecting on his own poetic activity.   For that we turn to Plautus whose situation was different from that of Ennius in his epic poetry.   He claimed specifically to be "translating" (*vortere*) Greek plays of the New Comedy.   Yet that modest and apparently self-effacing claim is falsified both by the facts and by Plautus' own words.   There are two passages that are worth

special notice in this context. The first is in the *Bacchides* where the slave Chrysalus says (649-50):

> non mihi isti placent Parmenones, Syri,
> qui duas aut tres minas auferunt eris.

> I have no interest in your Parmenoes and Syruses who steal merely
> two or three *minae* from their masters....

This is not only the characteristic boasting of a Plautine slave; it is also a self-conscious reference to the Greek models. Plautus himself is claiming superiority for his character Chrysalus over the ordinary run of slaves as they appear in Greek comedies. That claim to originality (a well-founded one) is made even more strikingly in *Mostellaria* 1149-51 where the following dialogue occurs:

> THEO. quid ego nunc faciam? TRAN. si amicus Diphilo aut Philemoni es,
> dicito is quo pacto tuos te servos ludificaverit:
> optumas frustrationes dederis in comoediis.

> THEOPROPIDES. What am I to do now? TRANIO. If you are
> friendly with Diphilus or Philemon, tell them how your slave made a
> fool out of you: you will be giving them excellent plots for their
> comedies.

Here the old man is in despair as he suddenly realizes how abject a fool he has been made by his own slave, and his rhetorical question expects either no answer or an answer quite different from what he gets. It is highly probable that the author of the Greek original of *Mostellaria* was Philemon. His contemporary and rival was Diphilus, and in the Greek play Philemon made a public hit at his rival in this dialogue. What Plautus has done, however, has been to convert that into a hit both at Diphilus and at the author of his own Greek model. This fantasy, which supposes both to be alive (though they were dead for more than half a century), is rightly put in the mouth of the slave Tranio. For Plautus' originality in respect to his plays as against their Greek models is largely concentrated in the characters of his slaves. Here he claims superiority not only, as Philemon did, to Diphilus, but also to Philemon himself who ought, if Plautus is "translating," to be reckoned the real author of the *Mostellaria*. Of course Plautus was not translating, but it is only in such unobtrusive ways that he allows his own pride in originality to appear.

However another splendid slave is given a finely ironic claim in *Pseudolus* 401-04:

> sed quasi poeta, tabulas quom cepit sibi,
> quaerit quod nusquam gentium est, reperit tamen,
> facit illud veri simile quod mendacium est,

nunc ego poeta fiam.

> But as a poet, when he has taken up his note-pads, looks for what
> does not exist anywhere in the world, yet finds it and lends verisimil-
> itude to what is a lie, now I shall become a poet.

Pseudolus has undertaken the apparently impossible double feat both of
finding a very large sum of money at no notice and also of gaining the
girl who has been sold by the pimp Ballio to a mercenary soldier. The
difficulties are enormously increased by features that, because of their
Roman character, can be shown to have been invented by Plautus. So
what the slave has been set to do is also a figure for the problem the
poet of this very play had in achieving originality; here that was solved
by the invention of new material.

So Plautus establishes a claim to originality for himself in outdo-
ing his Greek models, and he largely substantiates that claim by blend-
ing recognizably Roman elements into the basically Greek plot. Conse-
quently *imitatio exemplorum* is only very partial for Plautus not only in
style (where there is far more than the difference between Latin and
Greek in question), but also in subject-matter. It is to be noted that, in
the extant plays at any rate, there is no polemic against Roman prede-
cessors, in spite of the fact that enough fragments of Naevius remain to
show that Plautine *imitatio* of him was very considerable.[6] The question
of the threat posed by predecessors will become clearer in the case of
Terence.

The prologues to Terence's plays provide the first example of
extended literary criticism by a Roman poet. They are cast in the form
of a polemic against "a malevolent old poet" (*Andria* 6-7), Luscius
Lanuvinus, who is represented as holding strongly to views that are
rejected by Terence, and as having, from his own theoretical position,
made explicit attacks against each of Terence's plays. A number of
points are of special interest. Terence openly asserts his relationship to
specific Greek plays, even representing this relationship as "word for
word translation" (*Adelphi* 11); yet he claims originality for himself,
speaking of "fresh new comedies" (*de integro comoedias, Andria* 26; cf.
Heautontimorumenos 4-6, 28-30).

But Terence also makes clear a close relationship to Roman prede-
cessors, saying at *Andria* 18-21:

> qui quom hunc accusant, Naevium, Plautum, Ennium
> accusant quos hic noster auctores habet,
> quorum aemulari exoptat neglegentiam

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[6]Cf. Eduard Fraenkel, *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), cols. 622-40.

potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam.

> Those who accuse him [Terence] also accuse those whom our poet
> claims as his models — Naevius, Plautus, Ennius; he is more in-
> terested in emulating their carelessness than the pedantic carefulness
> of those critics of his.

The accusation supposed to have been made against Terence was of
using plot-elements of two Greek comedies to make only one Latin
play. The critic polemically designated this activity as "spoiling"
(*Andria* 16, *contaminari*) plays, and asserted that it is to be condemned.
Terence fully admits the charge but argues for *imitatio exemplorum:* he
is merely imitating his Roman predecessors. But he expresses this in a
very significant way by using the word *aemulari;* this echoes Hellenistic
use of ζῆλος and ζήλωσις,[7] and Terence is claiming not just to be pas-
sively imitating but also improving on and even surpassing his revered
predecessors in this respect (though he avoids challenging Plautus by
re-working the same plays[8]).

The same accusation is faced in the prologue to *Heauton-
timorumenos* in a slightly different form (16-21):

16   nam quod rumores distulerunt malevoli
        multas contaminasse Graecas dum facit
        paucas Latinas: factum id esse hic non negat
        neque se pigere et deinde facturum autumat.
20   habet bonorum exemplum quo exemplo sibi
        licere facere quod illi fecerunt putat.

> It is indeed true that malevolent critics have spread rumors to the
> effect that he [Terence] has spoiled many Greek plays in making a
> few in Latin; he does not deny that he has done this, but asserts that
> he has no regrets and that he will continue to do it. He follows the
> model of fine writers whose precedent he considers makes it legiti-
> mate for him to do what they have done

The point of view here put into the mouth of Luscius Lanuvinus is that
there is, as it were, a limited pool of material from which Roman
comedies can be made; the pool is constituted by Greek plays, and pre-
vious use of a Greek play by a Roman poet renders that play unavail-
able to others. This principle is extended here to Greek plays that have
supplied only a fraction of their thematic material. The theoretical
assumption is that a Latin play is best if it is most faithfully translated

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[7]See especially E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griech. Literatur* (Leipzig and Berlin
1912), pp. 273-75; but caution is needed: see D. A. Russell in his edition of Longinus
(Oxford 1964), p. 113.

[8]Below, p. 218.

from a single play.

The prologue to the *Eunuchus* carries the argument further. It opens with a strong statement of the importance of realism.[9] Then Luscius Lanuvinus is represented as having reshaped his attack on Terence. He has now accused Terence of plagiarism, on the ground that, in taking the characters of the parasite and the soldier from Menander's *Kolax,* he in fact took them from a play that had been "translated" not only by Naevius but also by Plautus. Here the underlying assumption is that plagiarism is only involved if a dramatist, in some sense, imitates a Roman, but not a Greek, predecessor.

Terence's immediate defense is that he did not know that either the *Kolax* or the *Eunuchus* had previously been translated into Latin. There is no reason to disbelieve this. The conditions of the production of plays at Rome in the early period were such that there could be no question of a complete — or indeed anything but a chaotically random — collection of texts by predecessors being available. Luscius Lanuvinus could easily have had the luck to hit on texts that had not been available to Terence.

But this was only an opening argument designed both to assert his own honesty and to condemn, by implication, the pedantic irrelevance (cf. *Andria* 21, *obscuram diligentiam*) of his critic. But it has this further significance. In the prologue to *Adelphi* Terence makes clear that the scene he has "translated word word" from the *Synapothnescontes* of Diphilus is the one scene in the play that Plautus omitted when he based his *Commorientes* on that same play of Diphilus. Terence was not interested — in fact carefully avoided — imitating and emulating Plautus' workmanship by challenging him where comparison was immediate. He imitated — and improved — Plautus' methods and dramatic practice.

Terence continues with a very interesting line of argument (35-41):

> 35   quod si personis isdem huic uti non licet
> qui mage licet currentem servom scribere,
> bonas matronas facere, meretrices malas,
> [parasitum edacem, gloriosum militem,]
> puerum supponi, falli per servom senem,
> 40   amare odisse suspicari? denique
> nullum est iam dictum quod non dictum sit prius.

However if <our poet> is forbidden to make use of the same char-

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> acters, is it any more possible to portray a running slave, to create
> matrons that are good, whores that are bad, a parasite that is greedy,
> a soldier who is boastful, to show a child being substituted, an old
> man being tricked by a slave, love, hatred, suspicion...? In short,
> nothing whatever is said now that has not been said before.

Here Terence is making two important points. First, he is implicitly
denying that there is any difference between *imitatio* of Greek models
and of Roman models since both draw on exactly the same pool of
material. Second, he is facing the essential problem of originality: the
conditions of poetic composition are such that originality does not
come, within a given genre, from the invention of new material, since
the criticism that any particular thing has in fact been said before can
always be shown to be plausibly grounded; originality can only come
from the way in which the material is handled. That is the point of his
criticism of Luscius Lanuvinus (*Eun.* 7-8): *qui bene vortendo et easdem
scribendo male / ex Graecis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas* ("who made bad
Latin plays out of good Greek plays by translating accurately and com-
posing badly"); the playwright who claims to translate still has the
opportunity for originality in using the material, and he must exercise
that opportunity in order to avoid producing a dull inferior copy of the
Greek. Hence, as Cicero was to make clear, *imitatio* of predecessors,
whether Greek or Roman, is not only inevitable, it is desirable, and is a
prime resource of the poet.

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If we look back over the literary criticism of these three poets,
several features emerge. Because of the conspicuous difference created
by the shift from Greek to Latin none of these poets felt threatened by
the need for *imitatio exemplorum* so long as the predecessors were
Greek, but both in Plautus and in Terence the idea of surpassing prede-
cessors, whether Greek or Roman, is a key concept in establishing their
own positions. Only Ennius felt threatened by Roman predecessors to
such an extent that he felt obliged to deny their influence.

It is more significant that all three poets show strong awareness of
the element of *imitatio vitae,* in the sense of experience, from wherever
derived, re-interpreted and transposed into traditional literary forms
that must be reckoned the common property of all.

Ennius took Roman historical experience and rethought it, look-
ing at it through the eyes of Homer and of other Greek poets (espe-
cially tragedians). The short-lived invention of the *fabula praetexta* is a
paradigm for this literary procedure of reshaping Roman material to

adapt it to a Greek literary form, and of bodying it out with actual Greek thematic material.

Plautus, following the lead of his Roman predecessors, recast the form of Greek New Comedy and blended Roman elements with Greek in such a way as to create a fantasy-world that is entirely the product of his own imagination, that exists neither in Athens nor in Rome, and that enables him to look at Romans (*barbari*) and Greeks from a new and unexpected point of view. His *imitatio vitae* thus creates a satisfying impression of originality.

Terence's interest in realism as a critical principle is emphatically repeated in his prologues (*Heaut.* 30-32; *Eun.* 10-13; *Phorm.* 4-8). It is realism in the sense of truth to the realities of life and it is a direct expression of his own view of *imitatio vitae*. In his plays it appears clearly in his recasting of formal features that, though traditionally accepted on the stage, contradicted the realities of life: for instance, he frequently converts what was a monologue or soliloquy in his Greek model into dialogue, and, in general, he modifies the highly rhetorical style of Plautine dramatic dialogue in the direction of a truer representation of the way people actually speak in real life. It also appears in the consistency of his presentation of the Greek milieu, even in details that he himself invented and added to the play (like the character of Antipho in *Eunuchus*). In this respect he was conspicuously, if silently, correcting his Roman predecessors, especially Plautus. This presented him with an interesting opportunity that he skilfully exploited. Plautus felt free to make his characters, mostly his slaves but also his old men, use Greek every now and then. What Terence was able to do was to exploit the inherent tension between Greek action and Roman language, not in any spirit of Plautine burlesque (with Romans viewed as *barbari*), but in such a way that Roman elements are given an existence only on the linguistic level as "objective correlatives" and sometimes even as metaphors of emotions.[10]

II. Lucilius

The importance of Lucilius lies in his invention of a new literary genre whose basis purported aristocratically to be the personal experience of the individual. What gave value to this experience was not any intrinsic weight or importance that it possessed, but simply that it belonged uniquely and peculiarly to one single and distinct individual personality. The literary strategy of the satiric poet was to obliterate

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[10]For some examples see Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968), pp. 291-94.

any distinction between his poetic persona and that of the private individual. However this chaos of experience of all kinds had to be accommodated to expression in verse and for this purpose forms had to be devised. The closest analogy in earlier Roman literature was the *fabula praetexta,* but that had a ready-made form in the genre of Greek tragedy. There was, however, no possible Greek predecessor whose model could be followed for satire, and so Lucilius was forced to take note of Latin predecessors for form and style. The category of form in this case was wide and ranged from technical questions of meter to adaptations of what comes close to content, as, for instance, in the *concilium deorum* of *Satire* 1, in which Lucilius took over an epic theme that had been used by Ennius in imitation of Homer. Lucilius reacted to this necessity in two ways that are by now familiar. First, he attacked and criticized his Roman predecessors; the fragments give evidence of polemic against Ennius, Caecilius, Accius, Pacuvius, Plautus, and Terence.[11] In this way he established himself as a poet against his predecessors, and in this respect he was consequently very like Ennius himself (the poet to whose technique he owed most). Second, he made a great point of appealing to Greek poetic theory (even to the extent of using Greek words) and especially to the influential pronouncements of Callimachus.[12] This is analogous to Ennius' appeal to Homer, and its implication is that Lucilius' originality in subject-matter (his *imitatio vitae*) is matched by his following Greek predecessors on problems of form and style — a claim that was designed to guarantee him immunity from Latin predecessors.

III. General Observations on the Early Period

First, there was a clear prejudice against confessing to *imitatio* of Latin predecessors; even Terence, who seems an exception in this respect, transformed his claim to belong closely to a tradition established by Latin dramatists into an assertion that he is surpassing his predecessors in the tradition. Furthermore, his claim to belong to a Latin tradition is conspicuously offset by his far greater faithfulness to the Greekness of his Greek models. Of course this prejudice was no more than a prejudice, since, as Terence no less than Cicero recognized, *imitatio* of Latin predecessors could not possibly be avoided.

Second, a strong distinction is made and maintained (if only implicitly) between *imitatio exemplorum* and *imitatio vitae.* In the case of

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[11] For Accius and Ennius, Horace *Sat.* I. 10. 51-55 (see below, p. 229); detailed references in the Index to Marx's edition s.vv.

[12] Details in M. Puelma Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos* (Frankfurt 1949) and

the former the *exempla* were actually, or were claimed to be Greek, and so the *imitatio* in Latin could only be in various ways partial and modified; it could be regarded as being concentrated more on form and style than on content. But *imitatio vitae* opened the path to freedom, for it might involve what could be represented as being purely Roman (as in the cases of Ennius and Lucilius) or Greek blended and transmuted with Roman elements (as in the case of Plautus), or, as with Terence, Greek improved and purified by a more attentive observation of real life as such.

Third, when these poets wished to establish their generic legitimacy and give (however rudimentary) a theoretical basis to their activity, they made appeal to Greek predecessors. This is particularly strange in the case of Lucilius, who had no Greek predecessors. Here again Terence is only an apparent exception, for his appeal to a Latin tradition is used polemically to legitimate a practice that *ex hypothesi* he could not find in his Greek models, and on every theoretical question he is obviously measuring his activity by the standards of Greek predecessors.

There is a general feature worth noticing that permeates every aspect of the problem in this period. This is the apparently universal respect for the excellence of Greek literary culture which is clear even in Plautus' claim to surpass his Greek models. It is to this ingrained attitude that, for instance, Terence's assertion (clearly false) that he is translating his Greek model "word for word" should be referred. It can be seen also, for example, in Plautus' admiring, if comic, use of the adjective *Atticus* as a recommendation of quality. Originality could be won from *imitatio* of Greek models because a poet could be the first to do something or other in Latin; that claim is made by Ennius, Laevius, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Manilius, Ovid, and Phaedrus. Of course the claim acquired in time the status of a commonplace but it remained at least a rhetorical means for a Latin poet to assert his originality. In time too the idea of "word for word" translation fell into disrepute, and Cicero could say (*de finibus* 3. 15): *nec tamen exprimi verbum e verbo necesse erit, ut interpretes indiserti solent* ("it will however be unnecessary to translate word for word, as unqualified translators do"); Horace endorsed this condemnation in *Ars Poetica* 133-34. But the respect for Greek culture can even be seen in a statement of Afranius. He was writing comedies that were explicitly Roman, were set in Italy, and could therefore have no Greek models. He says in the prologue to his *Compitalia:*

Italo Mariotti, *Studi Luciliani* (Firenze 1960).

> fateo: sumpsi non ab illo modo,
> sed ut quisque habuit conveniret quod mihi
> quod me non posse melius facere credidi,
> etiam a Latino.

I agree that I did: I borrowed not only from him [Menander] but according as any had anything to offer that suited me and that I thought I could not do better myself — even from a Latin poet.

Afranius freely confesses to borrowing from Greek poets for a purely Roman genre; that need occasion no great surprise. But he postpones to a climax his admission of the inconceivable act of borrowing even from a Latin poet. Humor and irony are used to underline the gravity of the confession.

IV. Catullus and his Successors

Catullus was clearly a beneficiary of Lucilius' estate, the tradition of using private autobiographical material as a basis for poetic composition; but, not surprisingly, Catullus gives no hint of such a debt. Instead, the three general attitudes found to be characteristic of the early poets are found in Catullus too. Not only does he acknowledge no debt to Roman predecessors (except indirectly, in occasional echoes, such as that between the opening of poem 64 and the prologue to Ennius' *Medea*); he conducts vigorous polemic against poets whose debt to the tradition that derived from Ennius was conspicuous, pilloried in the archetypal figure of Volusius (36, 95) who used history as his subject-matter. The Roman poets he approves are, by contrast, his own contemporaries and friends who shared a common point of view; not for nothing did Cicero refer to the whole group impatiently as New Poets.[13] Their most conspicuous claim was to have broken with tradition.

Second, in his *imitatio exemplorum* his models were Greek poets, a relationship that he did not trouble to conceal. When he goes to the length of close translation, he subverts it strongly: in poem 51 by the self-mocking ironic final stanza added to Sappho's poem; in the case of poem 66 by the introductory poem 65, apologizing and explaining that in his grievous personal situation translation was all he could do. In poem 64, where the material was Greek mythology, that traditional poetic resource has been modified not only by the highly individual, unpredictable, and even intrusive persona of the poet (in which respect

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[13] *Ad Att.* 7. 2. 1; *Orator* 161.

he had a model — to some extent — in the *Hymns* of Callimachus),[14] but also by the most unexpected reflections with which the poem ends (384-408) on the contemporary political and social situation in Rome and Italy. In general, however, his *imitatio vitae* was largely based on every aspect of his own private life.

Third, Catullus' theoretical reflection on poetic composition relies heavily on the ideals especially of Callimachus, as in poem 95 where contempt for Volusius who is in the tradition of Ennius is balanced by Callimachean contempt for the inflated Antimachus, an imitator of Homer; while approval is given to the epyllion *Zmyrna* of his close friend Cinna. Catullus, for all that he claimed and wished to be regarded as "new," was nevertheless displaying very much the same attitudes that the predecessors from whom he so anxiously wished to dissociate himself had in their time displayed.

It is less surprising that the same set of attitudes should be clear in Lucretius, though they are differently expressed. Unlike Catullus, he mentions a revered predecessor (I. 116-26):

116   an pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se,
       Ennius ut noster cecinit, qui primus amoeno
       detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam,
       per gentes Italas hominum quae clara clueret;
120   etsi praeterea tamen esse Acherusia templa
       Ennius aeternis exponit versibus edens,
       quo neque permaneant animae neque corpora nostra,
       sed quaedam simulacra modis pallentia miris;
       unde sibi exortam semper florentis Homeri
125   commemorat speciem lacrimas effundere salsas
       coepisse et rerum naturam expandere dictis.

...or whether by divine direction it [our soul] is implanted in other creatures, as our Ennius sang who was the first to bring down from lovely Helicon a wreath of deathless leaves that would win shining glory throughout the Italian clans of mankind; although besides that he nevertheless explains, setting it out in eternal verse, that the regions of Acheron exist but that neither our souls nor our bodies endure to that point, only wondrously pallid images of them; and from here he recalls that the ghost of ever-flourishing Homer rose before him and began to pour forth salt tears and explain the nature of the universe in speech.

The most superficial reading of Lucretius reveals his enormous debt to Ennius. But here Ennius is firmly put in his place: he was indeed the

first great Roman poet and his fame is everlasting; however he belonged to a certain historical period and in his subject-matter he was not only wrong but also self-contradictory. The implication is clear that imitation of Ennius meant also correction of him, but Lucretius leaves the availability of Ennius for imitation as a mere implication and makes no attempt to criticize him other than in his opinions. But a relevant implication resides in what he goes on to say (136-45):

> 136   nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta
>   difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse,
>   multa novis verbis praesertim cum sit agendum
>   propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem;
> 140   sed tua me virtus tamen et sperata voluptas
>   suavis amicitiae quemvis efferre laborem
>   suadet et inducit noctes vigilare serenas
>   quaerentem dictis quibus et quo carmine demum
>   clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti,
> 145   res quibus occultas penitus convisere possis.

> Nor does it escape my mind that it is difficult to illumine the dark discoveries of the Greeks in Latin poetry, especially since much must be treated by means of neologisms because of the poverty of our tongue and the novelty of the subject-matter; yet nevertheless your excellence and the pleasure of the sweet friendship I long for persuade me to endure any effort and induce me to keep awake through quiet nights searching for the words and the poetry to spread a bright light before your mind so that you can see deeply into things that are hidden.

Here Lucretius claims originality for himself and his claim is based on the nature of his subject-matter; but the implication is also clear that no Latin predecessor can possibly help with the most serious problems. The real function of Ennius does not emerge till much later, and then only obliquely (I. 921-34):

> 921   nunc age quod superest cognosce et clarius audi.
>   nec me animi fallit quam sint obscura; sed acri
>   percussit thyrso laudis spes magna meum cor
>   et simul incussit suavem mi in pectus amorem
> 925   Musarum, quo nunc instinctus mente vigenti
>   avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante
>   trita solo. iuvat integros accedere fontes
>   atque haurire, iuvatque novos decerpere flores
>   insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
> 930   unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musae;
>   primum quod magnis doceo de rebus et artis
>   religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo,
>   deinde quod obscura de re tam lucida pango

> carmina, musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.

> Now come, get to understand what remains and hear it the more
> clearly. And it does not escape my mind how dark these things are;
> but a great hope of fame has spurred my heart with its penetrating
> goad and has simultaneously injected sweet love of the Muses into
> my soul. Now, inspired by that, with vigorous mind I traverse path-
> less regions of the Pierides, previously trodden by the foot of none.
> It is my pleasure to reach untouched springs and drink of them, and
> it is my pleasure to pluck completely new flowers and make a glori-
> ous crown for my head from them, from which the Muses have nev-
> er wreathed the brow of any man previously: in the first place be-
> cause I teach important things and I strive to free the mind from the
> tight knots of superstition; in the second place because I lay out such
> bright poetry on a dark subject, touching everything with the charm
> of the Muses.

The phrases here echo what he said in praise of Ennius, especially con-
cerning the idea of being the first. But the emphasis is heavily on his
own originality in the twin pictures of pathless regions never before
trodden by anyone, and of a completely new crown presented by the
Muses. What is remarkable here is that this originality is consistent
with following Epicurus.[15] The claim, here left implicit, is that Lucre-
tius can, in the word used by Terence, rival Ennius in being the first in
a new way of his own by doing something never done before. Lucre-
tius' driving ambition for an immortal fame of his own is consistent
with admiration for, and imitation of, Ennius. But the emphasis on
things Greek is to be noticed. Even in style he cannot be much helped
by Latin predecessors since it is only Greeks who have wrestled with
these ideas before. Only two men are treated by Lucretius as gods, and
both are Greeks. Epicurus is constantly so treated because of the ori-
ginality and power of his thinking. But he wrote in prose and so could
not be a model, other than in contributing to *imitatio vitae,* for Lucre-
tius. The other Greek so treated was a poet, and he is given a lauda-
tion that is greater than Ennius'. The passage of no less than eighteen
lines ends thus (I. 729-33):

> nil tamen hoc habuisse viro praeclarius in se
> 730   nec sanctum magis et mirum carumque videtur.
> carmina quin etiam divini pectoris eius
> vociferantur et exponunt praeclare reperta
> ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus.

> ...yet <Sicily> clearly never possessed anything more glorious, any-
> thing more holy, anything more admired or more loved than this

[15]Below, pp. 227-28

man.   Moreover the poems of his godlike soul speak forth and ex-
pound his shining discoveries so that he seems hardly born of human
stock.

Empedocles is treated as the greatest of a whole series of Greeks; but
they were, for all their genius, basically wrong.   In fact the praise of
Empedocles is subverted in the lines that follow on grounds of falsity in
his subject-matter, so that what remains eternal in him is his poetry, his
style, and in this respect he provided a model for Lucretius — a Greek,
not a Roman model.   It is the second of the two bases for Lucretius'
claim to immortal fame (933-34) that he employs poetry to carry and
recommend the doctrines of Epicurus (whose subject-matter is the first
basis, vv. 931-32, for Lucretius' fame), and in that effort his great
predecessor and model was Empedocles, who stood to Homer in a simi-
lar relation to that of Lucretius to Ennius.   Once again the influence of
the Latin predecessor, Ennius, is played down in favor of the Greek
Empedocles, though this is done only very indirectly.

Here it is worth remarking that Lucretius' relation to Empedocles,
mediated by Ennius, is exemplified in a memorable phrase.[16]   Empedo-
cles in frag. 26 Wright (20 Diels) speaks of the uniting of the bodily
parts in life and their disintegration in death (5): $\pi\lambda\acute{a}\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \ddot{a}\nu\delta\iota\chi$'
$\ddot{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\rho\grave{\iota}\ \dot{\rho}\eta\gamma\mu\hat{\iota}\nu\iota\ \beta\acute{\iota}o\iota o$ "(torn asunder) they wander, each
separately, about the shoreline of life."   Ennius (114 V) said of
Romulus *tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras* ("you brought us forth
within the coasts of life": cf. 131 V).   The phrase *in luminis oras* is used
no less than nine times by Lucretius.[17]

The relation with Ennius is expressed (I. 116-26) in terms of
Ennius' primacy in his own time.   That idea of relativity (viz. that a
poet's achievement is to be judged in relation to his age) which Lucre-
tius uses to distance Ennius from himself is important for literary his-
tory and is used impressively by Cicero in his *Brutus.*[18]   It left Lucretius
free from a paralyzing sense of Ennius' greatness on the one hand and
of the necessity to denigrate him (as Ennius did his predecessors) on
the other.

Another concept is used by Lucretius to deal with his relation to
Epicurus.   It is remarkable that in the passage quoted above (I. 921-34)
Lucretius speaks of his own originality in the figure of the pathless,
untrodden wilderness.   Yet he can praise Epicurus in the prooemium to

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[16]For other parallels between Lucretius and Empedocles, see M. R. Wright, *Em-
pedocles: The Extant Fragments* (Yale University Press 1981), "Index locorum", p. 352.

[17]I. 22, 170, 179; II. 577, 617; V. 224, 781, 1389, 1455.

[18]Especially 292-300.

Book III, especially in vv. 3-6:

> te sequor, o Graiae gentis decus, inque tuis nunc
> ficta pedum pono pressis vestigia signis,
> non ita certandi cupidus quam propter amorem
> quod te imitari aveo.

> It is you that I follow, O glory of the Greek race, and in the tracks
> that you have marked out I now plant my carefully placed footsteps,
> not so much desiring to rival you as because through love I am long-
> ing to imitate you.

He goes on to compare himself to a swallow (in relation to Epicurus'
swan) and then to a bee sipping from Epicurus' pages. What is striking
here is the explicit picture of following step by step and the equally
explicit denial of *aemulari* in favor of an *imitari* that arises from inspira-
tion (*amor*). What allows this close imitation of Epicurus to exist side
by side with a strong claim to originality is a clear-cut distinction
between form and content, figured in the image of Lucretius as a doc-
tor administering unpleasant medicine (the ideas) wrapped in sweet-
tasting honey (the poetry). Epicurus is only relevant to *imitatio vitae,*
but that is so totally transformed by the poetic form that the *imitatio
exemplorum* is consistent with a claim to complete originality and pri-
macy. The importance of the thematic material (I. 931-32) is indepen-
dent of its origin in Epicurus, and the junction of it with the poetry (I.
933-34) creates the second element in Lucretius' claim to originality;
with Epicurus he did not need to strive for primacy (*certare*), but as
against a Latin predecessor he had to assert his own originality.

The same pattern can be seen in Horace's *Satires*. He had an ack-
nowledged predecessor in Lucilius and he established himself by attack-
ing his predecessor. He does this with tact and restraint, but explicitly.
The attack on Lucilius' style is undertaken in his own voice, but the
attack on Lucilius' tone and subject-matter is put into the mouths of
anonymous readers who are also supposed to criticize Horace for adopt-
ing a similarly hostile tone towards his targets. In *Satires* I. 4 Lucilius is
approved for his outspoken attacks on vice (cf. *Sat.* I. 10. 3-4), but he
is criticized for his hasty and careless style (9-13); however the poet
avoids this issue for the moment by agreeing not to consider whether
satire is really poetry and by concentrating on an explanation and
defense of its subject-matter. In *Satires* I. 10 he comes back to the
question of Lucilius' style,[19] treats satire as subject to the severe

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[19]This strategy is tactful, since it allows Horace to get in his brief but pungent criti-
cism of Lucilius in *Sat.* I. 4. His return to the problem is then motivated in *Sat.* I. 10 by
Horace's assertion that someone has objected to his criticism of Lucilius' style and that

standards by which poetry should be judged (7-19), and finds Lucilius seriously deficient. Here Horace uses the same argument from relativity as Lucretius. He points out that as he criticizes Lucilius, so Lucilius attacked his Latin predecessors, Accius and Ennius (53-55), and also that Lucilius was admirable by the standards of his own time but that, had he lived in Horace's, he would have changed much (64-71). The argument relieves the attack from self-serving meanness and arrogance.

That effect is also achieved by another stratagem. In *Satires* I. 10 Horace speaks of satire as being the one poetic genre that he could write, in which he is better than "Varro of Atax and certain others who tried it and failed," but he is *inventore minor* ("inferior to the inventor," 48). This statement is carefully insulated from the relativistic attack on Lucilius in 64-71. The theme is repeated twice in *Satires* II. 1: at line 29 where the poet says *nostrum melioris utroque,* "better than either of us"; and at 74-75 *quicquid sum ego, quamvis / infra Lucili censum ingeniumque,* "of whatever account I am, although inferior both in income and in genius to Lucilius." The superiority of the inventor was what Lucretius could fully concede without threat to himself, since Epicurus was generically remote. But in each instance the Horatian admission of inferiority is modified — in I. 10. 48 by limiting it to the fact of generic invention itself; in II. 1. 74-75 by including income ironically with genius; and in II. 1. 29 by associating Trebatius also with the inferiority.

Another stratagem used by Lucretius is also made to work for Horace. This is the drawing of a very sharp distinction between style and content and so between *imitatio exemplorum* and *imitatio vitae.* This is done in *Satires* I. 4 in such a way as certainly to make clear the poet's attitude to Lucilius' stylistic shortcomings but yet to postpone to *Satires* I. 10 the detailed attack. That device enabled Horace to claim stylistic originality for himself by showing the deficiencies of his only real predecessor; the ideals of poetic composition that he asserts are his own, but they are also measured against the highest standards of his own age. It is the case with Horace, as it was with Lucretius, that only the junction of style and subject-matter — not either by itself — can constitute his real claim to originality and uniqueness. In *imitatio vitae* the nature of the genre allowed Horace to regard Lucilius as the exemplary predecessor but did not endanger his claim to originality. Since the genre was founded on personal experience, the subject-matter was *ex hypothesi* original. In fact Horace represents his own procedure as

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the poet is therefore compelled to defend his point of view.

founded, without any reference to Lucilius, on the moralizing of his own father (I. 4. 103-26) and on his consequent acquisition of a unique moral sense of his own, such that his satire becomes a natural extension of his own moral self-reflections. The satiric writer's relation to his own writing is figured in *Satires* II. 1 as that of a man with faithful and intimate friends to whom he entrusts the secrets of his life in all its aspects (30-34); that is the model which Lucilius handed on to him.

The relationship with Lucilius is exemplary in *Satires* I. 5 where a sufficiency of fragments remains from Lucilius' *Iter Siculum* to establish a close connection between it and Horace's account of his journey to Brundisium in 37 B.C. Porphyrio (the third century commentator on Horace) says of this (on *Sat.* I. 5. 1):

> Lucilio hac satyra aemulatur Horatius iter suum a Roma Brundesium usque describens, quod et ille in tertio libro fecit, primo a Roma Capuam usque et inde fretum Siciliense.[20]

Here the commentator interprets the relationship as one of *aemulatio,* as if Horace were challenging and trying to surpass Lucilius; but the concept of *aemulatio* belongs in this form to a later age and has little relevance to what Horace does. Lucilius was the "inventor" of the genre, he gave it shape and form, and he defined (if only implicitly) its "rules" (*leges*). A particular journey possesses of necessity a structure and a series of typical features that makes it similar to any other journey. What Horace does in *Satires* I. 5 is to authenticate his own autobiographical presence in the poem as the narrator of experiences of his own, but he also structures his own experience on the pattern provided by Lucilius. This can be expressed in a general way in the form of a far-reaching distinction. It is to be drawn between imaginatively reliving and reshaping particular experiences (which can come from any source, including the books of predecessors) in accordance with the totality of one's own experience (which can also include books); and, on the other hand, regarding experience as pre-existing in a given package in such a way that the problem becomes one not of reinterpretation, but of exercising ingenuity on giving the package a new shape in accordance with the rules of *inventio.* The latter attitude becomes characteristic of writers who followed Ovid and the procedure is then certainly one of explicit *aemulatio,* of taking what the earlier writer provides and of outdoing him by discovering potentialities in it that he failed to exploit. In the former, however, *imitatio vitae* and *imitatio exemplorum* become united in a single process, so that Horace can both imitate Lucilius but also substantiate the presentation of his own

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[20]Ed. G. Meyer (Leipzig 1874), p. 213.

unique experience of life. It was the same procedure that allowed
Lucretius to follow Epicurus step by step and yet legitimate a claim to
real originality. That too was the procedure of Horace in relation to
Lucilius, and that was the true model for Samuel Johnson's imitation of
Satires 3 and 10 of Juvenal in *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes.*

There was also a third way in which Horace followed the pattern
of *imitatio* set by early Roman poets: when he seeks theoretically to
establish his own generic legitimacy he appeals to Greek writers. This
is the true explanation of the extraordinary piece of literary history that
opens *Satires* I. 4. There he claims that Lucilius was totally dependent
on Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes, the poets of Old Comedy, and
they are emphatically designated as *poetae*. They can therefore consti-
tute models of poetic excellence by which Lucilius can be measured
and found wanting. But the topic is no sooner raised in *Satires* I. 4 than
it is dropped by the poet's agreeing to shelve the question whether
satire is poetry or not. It is, however, taken up again in *Satires* I. 10,
and, after a careful definition of the ideal style required for satire (7-
15), the poet says (16-17):

> illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est
> hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi.

> It was on this that those men who wrote Old Comedy took their
> stand, it is for this that they must be imitated.

Great Greek predecessors must supply literary standards — for the age
of Horace no less than for that of Lucilius; but one must no more use
Greek words in Latin poems (as Lucilius did — 20-30) than one must
go to the length of actually trying to write in Greek (as Horace once did
— 31-35). That idea of Greeks supplying standards returns in the
important passage where the concept of relativity is applied to Lucilius
(64-67):

> fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
> comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
> quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,
> quamque poetarum seniorum turba....

> I most certainly concede that Lucilius was elegant and witty and far
> more polished than the composer of a rough poem untouched by
> Greek culture, in fact than the whole crew of earlier poets....

The literary distinction that Lucilius achieved was due to the fact
that he carefully studied and adopted (as he claimed) the standards of
Greek predecessors. But now Horace, while recognizing Lucilius' vir-
tues in terms of the time at which he lived, can apply the same

standards with more rigor and understanding. Cicero in his *Brutus* had used this concept of increasing acquaintance with Greek literary culture as a versatile and potent tool in analyzing development in Roman oratory.

For Virgil in his *Eclogues* there was no Latin predecessor and he had no need — indeed, clearly, unlike Catullus, no inclination — to attack or even criticize another poet (except perhaps for Maevius and Bavius, whoever they were). But, like Catullus, he gave loud acclaim to distinguished elder contemporaries, G. Asinius Pollio and G. Cornelius Gallus. Neither of them wrote poetry in the least generically related to pastoral, but in *Eclogue* 10 Virgil invented an ingenious way of defining the relation of pastoral to elegiac love-poetry by transposing Gallus to Arcadia, a venture that could then be shown poetically to be impossible.[21] The *Georgics,* however, were different. Here Latin predecessors were probably confined to prose-writers, but Virgil draws emphatic attention to Lucretius. The subject-matter of the *De Rerum Natura* (as defined in *Georgics* II. 490-92) came within the scope of the secondary field of the *Georgics* and the poet establishes what amounts to a polemical position against Lucretius. He prays to the Muses whose devotee he is and by whom he is deeply inspired (II. 475-76; the language echoes that of Lucretius) to teach him the nature of the universe (477-82). But the depressing idea occurs to him that his own talents may be deficient for that undertaking (483-84); if so, may he be inspired (*amare*) by the beauties of the countryside, and, as he speaks, he feels the inspiration coming over him (485-89). Then, corresponding to the dichotomy he has set up between understanding the nature of the universe on the one hand and coming to know the countryside on the other, there comes the assertion of the felicity (*felix*) of the man who has achieved intellectual dominance over the human condition (490-92) and the good fortune (*fortunatus*) of him who has come to know the deities of the countryside (493-94). What is particularly interesting here is not only the wish to match the achievement of a Lucretius (and the sense that it may be beyond his powers),[22] but also the implicit denial of Lucretius' dichotomy between subject-matter and form, between the teachings of Epicurus and the poetic inspiration of the Muses. For Virgil the Muses are the source of both: that is, failure to understand the universe is a failure of poetry. That idea of the unity of form and content, such that alteration of the one necessarily involves adjustment of the other, can be seen to underlie the

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[21]For this interpretation see Williams, *op. cit.* (above, note 3), pp. 231-36.

[22]For details, *ibid.,* pp. 250-51.

poetics of three highly original earlier poems, *Eclogues* 4, 6 and 10.

This meant that for Virgil the distinction between *imitatio exemplorum* and *imitatio vitae* was artificial (in a way to be defined), and that view had important consequences. First, poetic inspiration was therefore a totality such that material from whatever source was transformed and became the absolute possession of the poet who used it. Second, the question whether a predecessor to whom a poet was indebted was Greek or Roman came to be of utter indifference. Third, the text of a predecessor could become active in the later text in such a way that it was not challenged by the later text but extended its scope. The artifice of distinguishing between *imitatio exemplorum* and *imitatio vitae* was transformed in all of Virgil's poetry into a more creative distinction. All of his poetry can be seen to make use of a relationship between primary and secondary fields; this often seems to correspond to the relationship between the two types of *imitatio*, but that distinction tends to become unhelpful. It works quite well in the *Eclogues* where the primary field is usually constituted by specific reference to the poetry of Theocritus (though in *Eclogue* 10 it is the secondary field that is so constituted). However in the *Georgics* the primary field concerns the specified technical subject-matter of farming, while the secondary field embraces the human condition as such in all of its most far-reaching aspects. In the *Aeneid* the primary field is the announced subject-matter of the poet, the tale of what happened to one man in a period of less than a decade in the twelfth century; this field can certainly be regarded in part as related to the two epic texts of Homer. The secondary field concerns the whole panorama of Roman history and especially the period of the poem's composition in the age of Augustus; this field can correspondingly be regarded as belonging more closely to *imitatio vitae*. In each case the secondary field is deliberately left incomplete; instead indexes to the proportionality of the two fields enable the reader to sense and reconstruct the secondary in imagination.[23] Analogous techniques can be seen in a few poems of Catullus and in Propertius' early work, and there may be something remotely similar to the technique of the *Eclogues* in the seventh *Idyll* of Theocritus. But essentially this was Virgil's invention and it influenced some later work of Horace. However, Virgil's work and much of Horace's was being misinterpreted from a time soon after it was composed, because attitudes to literature underwent a radical change in the later age of Augustus.

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[23]For this method of analyzing Virgil's poetry, *ibid.*, pp. 220-45 (*Eclogues*) and pp. 245-68 (*Georgics*). For the *Aeneid*, Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid* (Yale University Press 1983), Chapter 6.

Yet in another way Virgil followed the pattern of his Latin prede-
cessors. On the one hand he appealed to Greek predecessors to estab-
lish generic legitimacy, and on the other he claimed primacy in spite of
their existence. In the *Eclogues* his predecessor was Theocritus, and he
also makes clear allusion to Callimachus in the opening of *Eclogue* 6
where he also claims primacy for himself. However he is much more
explicit in the *Georgics*. At II. 173-76 he says:

> salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
> magna virum: tibi res antiquae laudis et artem
> ingredior sanctos ausus recludere fontes,
> Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

> Hail, great mother of harvests, land of Saturn, great mother of
> heroes: in your honor I begin on themes of ancient glory and on a
> skill, bold to open up springs of inspiration, and through Roman
> towns I sing a Hesiodic song.

Here a claim to primacy resides in the verb *recludere* and the language
echoes Lucretius'; but Hesiod remains the acknowledged master. The
claim to primacy is even more powerful in the prooemium to Book III
(10-13 *primus...primus...*), but there the primacy is confined to Italy.
The poet also expresses a longing for poetic fame which he can only
achieve by avoiding the hackneyed themes of Greek mythology (3-9).
A third passage (III. 289-93) alludes expressly to Lucretius:

> nec sum animi dubius verbis ea vincere magnum
> quam sit et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem;
> sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis
> raptat amor; iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum
> Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.

> But my mind is in no doubt how mighty a task it is to master these
> themes in words and add poetic distinction to narrow topics. But
> sweet inspiration (*amor*) compels me to traverse deserted heights of
> Parnassus; it is my delight to scale ridges where no path of a prede-
> cessor turns aside to Castalia by an easy slope.

The allusion to Lucretius is clear in the word for word imitation of that
poet's anxiety about his task. For Lucretius the difficulty lay in the
obscurity of his subject-matter. But for Virgil it lies in giving distinc-
tion to humble material (sheep and goats), and here he relies for a
moment on the Lucretian distinction between form and content that
had previously been implicitly denied; here it was practically useful.
The Greek predecessor, as in Lucretius, can here be ignored from this
point of view where originality must come from the difficult and inno-
vating conjunction of subject-matter and style. This was a fact about
poetic originality that Terence had recognized.

Propertius, unlike Virgil but like Horace the satirist, had to contend with obvious Latin predecessors. Poets like Catullus and Cornelius Gallus could not be overlooked; Catullus invented the genre of love-elegy with poem 68 and Gallus developed it. Propertius does not criticize either poet in order to establish a place for himself. His technique is to write literary history in a novel way. In II. 34 he finds a place for himself in a tradition that he traces as starting with Varro of Atax, then Catullus, then Calvus, then Gallus, and finally Propertius (85-94). But he precedes this list with a detailed treatment of Virgil's fame as poet of the *Aeneid,* the *Eclogues,* and the *Georgics;* this treatment (61-84) occupies more than twice the space devoted to elegiac love-poetry. This is a strange procedure, but its purpose (indeed it is the whole strategy of the passage in the poem) is certainly to define poets in terms of their subject-matter. This serves to limit Propertius' indebtedness to his Latin predecessors to subject-matter. But, as with Horace, this means that his claim to originality is left unimpaired, since, *ex hypothesi,* the genre being based on the personal experiences of the poet, his *imitatio vitae* must be his own, however widened and conditioned by reading and structured by literary experience. In fact Propertius actually claims to surpass both Calvus and Catullus simply because the unhappiness of his situation, which is the basis of his poetry, makes Cynthia who is the cause of it the most notorious beauty in literature (II. 25. 1-4).

Consequently Propertius follows earlier Latin poets in making a strong distinction between *imitatio exemplorum* and *imitatio vitae.* That left him as free as his predecessors to appeal to Greek poets on questions of technique and generic legitimacy. The paradox emerges that his *imitatio vitae* is confined to Latin predecessors; but his *imitatio exemplorum* is focussed on Greeks like Callimachus and Philetas, especially the former (in II. 1. 40; II. 34. 32; III. 1. 1-6; IV. 1. 64) who from earliest times provided Roman poets with the doctrinal apparatus of poetic technique. But a curious difficulty emerged from this for Propertius in his later poetry. He there proposed for himself the highly un-Callimachean subject-matter of the history of Rome (IV. 1. 1-70). He confesses however (57-64):

> moenia namque pio coner disponere versu:
>   ei mihi, quod nostro est parvus in ore sonus!
> sed tamen exiguo quodcumque e pectore rivi
> 60   fluxerit, hoc patriae serviet omne meae.
> Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona:
>   mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua,
> ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria libris,
>   Umbria Romani patria Callimachi.

> Indeed I am set on trying to align the walls <of Rome> in patriotic poetry — alas for me, only a tiny tonal range is mine! Nevertheless whatever the trickle that shall flow from my tiny breast, every drop of it shall be in the service of my country. Let Ennius wreathe his poetry with a shaggy crown: allow me, Bacchus, leaves from your own ivy so that Umbria may lord it, swollen with pride over my books of poetry, Umbria the homeland of the Roman Callimachus.

But, however Callimachean Propertius is able to make his proposal sound by referring to aetiology, this formulation with its patriotic devotion, is alien to the Greek poet.[24] That is underlined by the fact that the smallness of scale and tone, which were in earlier poems treated as ideal virtues, turn out in this context to be weaknesses. Indeed the poet is here being compelled to appeal to Callimachus not for doctrine on technique but on subject-matter, and when a Roman predecessor is to be named he can only be Ennius, the very poet who had to be rejected in the *recusatio* III. 3, where Propertius' small voice made it impossible for him to follow Ennius. But here in IV. 1 he is rejecting the earlier erotic subject-matter (to which he clung in III. 3) and the only Latin predecessor he can now name is Ennius. The difficulty arose from the possibility that Callimachus could revere Homer but declare him off limits for contemporary poetic imitation; he was therefore able to pour scorn on the Homeridae and their followers. That still left him with Hesiod as an acceptable model. But, unlike the high esteem in which later Greeks held Homer, later Roman poets could only regard Ennius as primitive and rough and quite unsuitable as a model. Propertius was therefore forced to make the traditional distinction between form and content in order to criticize Ennius and refuse him as a model for style, while acknowledging his distinction in Lucretian terms and following him in subject-matter. Propertius had no one like Hesiod to substitute for Ennius, and so he is here compelled to present himself as the Roman Callimachus by the very odd procedure of making Ennius Callimachean.

V. Conclusion

What I have tried to show is that the extraordinary way in which Roman literature took its first origins compelled poets for a century and a half to devise a complex and flexible theory of *imitatio* that was capable of defining their relationship to, and maintaining a distance, not only from Greek models but, even more, from predecessors in their

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[24]On the difference between the personas of Callimachus and Propertius in aetiological poems, see especially John Miller, "Callimachus and the Augustan Aetiological Elegy," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der röm. Welt* II (Berlin — New York 1982), pp. 383-96.

own language. One important aspect of the subsequent development and history of Roman poetry down to and including the age of Augustus can therefore be analyzed in terms of continual adaptations of that basic theory of *imitatio*. The constraints on Roman poets, as each sought for himself an undisputed place in the tradition, and their responses to those constraints, remained very much the same from the beginnings down to the death of Horace in 8 B.C.. Already by that time new conditions had begun to take shape, and the new genius of Ovid had been devising new responses to those new conditions; they were to dominate poetic activity for the following century and beyond.[25]

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[25]I have explored this change in *Change and Decline: Roman Literature in the Early Empire* (University of California Press 1978), especially chapters 2 and 5.

4

Cicero and Early Latin Poetry

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The Romans of Cicero's day were introduced to the old Latin poets at an early age; set to study them, along with their Greek models, under a *grammaticus* and to learn passages by heart. What impression they made on the child Cicero is not recorded. His defence of Archias professes devotion to literature, including poetry, from boyhood upwards, but does not particularize. Plutarch's biography[1] supplies the information that he wrote poetry himself while still a boy, that is to say by 89 B.C. at the latest, producing a work in tetrameters (presumably trochaic) called in Plutarch's Greek Πόντιος Γλαῦκος, "Glaucus in the sea." The title, suggestive of a Hellenistic epyllion, could reflect the influence of the most notable Latin poet of the period, the now almost obliterated Laevius, whom Cicero never mentions. But the metre tells nothing. Laevius used it, but so had Lucilius in non-dramatic compositions.

Other poems followed and, if Plutarch is believed, carried Cicero into reputation as Rome's leading poet and leading orator in one. Most of them were probably written in the eighties before he set out on his career in the law-courts, and Plutarch's statement should mean on a conservative view that in the seventies and perhaps the sixties Cicero's poetry enjoyed a considerable vogue — decades, to be sure, which seem to have been far from fruitful in this area. He must have been proud of it at the time, yet it is never mentioned in his surviving writings, except for the renderings of Aratus' poem on astronomy. From the titles preserved it seems that the poet Cicero continued to look to Alexandria; the traditional Roman genres — drama, epic, satire — apparently did not inspire him. If we choose to draw the inference that at this stage Cicero was not the professed admirer of the early Roman

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[1] *Vit. Cic.* 2. 3.

poets which we later find him, there is nothing to gainsay it. His juvenile work on rhetoric, *De inventione,* contains eight illustrative quotations from them, but three of these seem to have been borrowed from the treatise *Ad Herennium* or a common source. The speeches of the years prior to his Consulship contain only one clear quotation, from Ennius, in the defence of Roscius of Ameria.[2] Allusions are rare too. There is one in the same speech[3] to a situation in Caecilius' comedy *The Changeling* and another in the defence of Caecina,[4] where the name "Phormio" recalls the title role in Terence's play. A reference to the Plautine pimp Ballio in the defence of the actor Roscius[5] can be discounted as arising from his client's acting of the part. Admittedly the introduction of such allusions, and still more of actual quotations, by a young advocate might be felt as something of a liberty. In the *Pro Roscio Amerino*[6] he does in fact apologize to the court and even pretends to be uncertain of the name of one of Caecilius' characters. But, as will presently be seen, the case is much the same with the consular and for some years with the post-consular speeches.

In his mid-forties, probably after a long interval, Cicero took again to verse-writing, but no longer just for art's sake. The poems *On my Consulship* — a theme which also inspired him to prose, both Latin and Greek — and *On my vicissitudes* (*De temporibus meis*, i.e. his exile and restoration), like the later, probably unpublished, compositions on Julius Caesar and on Britain, were topical, if not tendentious. And so perhaps essentially was the mysterious *Marius,* if it belongs to this epoch. We may conjecture that the banishment of his great co-townsman was its principal theme, seeing that both the two significant fragments[7] seem to have to do with that episode. It was probably about this time, in the early fifties, that Latin poetry entered on a new, exciting phase with the advent of Catullus and his fellow-neoterics (I use the term without prejudice). They too looked to Alexandria, but more especially to Callimachus and Euphorion of Chalcis. Hence Cicero's reference in his *Tusculan Disputations*[8] to *his cantoribus Euphorionis* — whatever exactly he meant by *cantoribus*. For myself I am inclined to agree with the *Oxford Latin Dictionary:* "one who sings the praises

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[2] *Rosc. Am.* 90.

[3] *Rosc. Am.* 46.

[4] *Caec.* 27.

[5] *Rosc. com.* 20.

[6] *Rosc. Am.,* 46.

[7] Cic. poet. fr. 7 and 8 (Morel).

[8] *Tusc.* 3. 45.

(of)," given the analogous uses of *canto* and *cano;* that does not mean that the associations with song and recitation were absent from Cicero's mind. Indeed, I suspect that he was not entirely clear himself which of several possible senses he intended, and chose the phrase for its contemptuous ring. However that may be, it appears beyond reasonable doubt that these *cantores Euphorionis* are practically to be identified with the "new poets," οἱ νεώτεροι, casually but slightingly mentioned in a letter to Atticus[9] of the year 50, and again, as *novi poetae,* in the *Orator.*[10] This of course debouches into another and more important controversy, in which I can only subscribe to Oliver Lyne's opinion[11] that in the context οἱ νεώτεροι must refer to a recognized group of writers, though the term itself need not and probably should not be taken for a recognized label. The novelties of theme and technique which these writers introduced, not to speak of their poetic merits, will have made Cicero's juvenile essays look *vieux jeu.* Hence perhaps his disapproval. Literary antagonism did not rule out friendly personal contacts, such as existed between Cicero and Catullus' best-known "neoteric" associate Calvus — with whom he also disagreed on the theory and practice of oratory. Nor am I one of those who detect sarcasm in Catullus' *disertissime Romuli nepotum.* But Cicero's depreciatory remarks about the group are positive evidence of a dislike which could have been surmised even without them, first from the absence in his writings of any reference to individual contemporary Latin poets other than himself and his brother (apart from the incidental mention of Lucretius and one Sallustius in a well-known passage of his correspondence[12]); and second, from his own abandonment of poetic composition, or at any rate publication, in the mid-fifties. E. M. Morford writes in his article "Ancient and modern in Cicero's poetry":[13] "...it is a fair supposition that disgust at the trend of Roman poetry in the hands of the younger set in part drove him to turn his back finally on poetry." But why the disgust? Cicero's personal vanity had better not be left out of the reckoning. His nose had been put out of joint.

Resenting the new movement, Cicero might naturally go out of his way to make much of the early authors whom the newcomers decried. Not that I question the common view that national sentiment, or jingoism or chauvinism if preferred, was involved, as it also was in

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[9] *Att.* 7. 2. 1.

[10] *Orat.* 161.

[11] "The Neoteric Poets," *Classical Quarterly* 28 (1978), p. 168.

[12] *Q. fr.* 2. 10(9). 3.

[13] *Classical Philology* 62 (1967), p. 112.

his exaggerated appreciation of the elder Cato's oratory and of the wealth of the Latin language. It is worth noting that he shows no such partiality to the Roman historians, but there he has an axe to grind: Rome needed a new and better historian, Cicero.[14] However, the uprush of the old poets precisely in his speeches of 56-54 is likely to be more than a coincidence.[15] Quintilian[16] remarks that quotations from Ennius and company are found chiefly (*praecipue*) in Ciceronian oratory, though Asinius Pollio and those who immediately followed him (*qui sunt proximi*) often introduced them. That seems to imply that Cicero was the first to do this, and that his closer contemporaries, such as Caelius, Calidius, and Caesar, did not follow suit.

Out of thirteen extant speeches belonging to the years 63 to 57 the only one to quote from this literature, unless we count a corrupt scrap in *Leg. Agr.* 2. 93 and a few words in *Post. red. in sen.* 33 which derive from Accius' *Atreus,* is the *Pro Murena* of 63, which has a line from the *Annals* of Ennius, who is called *ingeniosus poeta et auctor valde bonus,* on the relationship between peace and the rule of law,[17] and another from some tragedy.[18] The defence of the poet Archias in the following year before a court presided over by Quintus Cicero (a better poet than Marcus, as Marcus was later to tell him) is much concerned with poetry, but not specifically with Latin poetry. Archias, of course, composed in Greek. Ennius, *noster ille Ennius,* is mentioned thrice, Accius once, but only as germane to the discourse.[19]

Now take 56-54. The *Pro Sestio* of February or March 56 quotes the *oderint dum metuant* passage from Accius' *Atreus,* and a section on theatre demonstrations, apologetically introduced, naturally cites the relevant passages from the plays concerned, not without a complimentary reference to Accius, whom Cicero could remember personally.[20] Accius is also quoted and complimented in the *Pro Plancio*[21] of 55 or 54. The opening lines of Ennius' *Medea* (the most often quoted passage in Cicero) embellish the defence of Caelius; another part of that

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[14] *Laws* 1. 5 ff.

[15] As was recognized by W. Zillinger (*Cicero und die altrömischen Dichter* [diss. Würzburg, 1911, pp. 67 ff.]), who, however, merely associates the phenomenon with the delight in quotation displayed in the contemporary *De oratore.*

[16] Quint. 1. 8. 11.

[17] The passage is cited at greater length in two later letters.

[18] *Mur.* 30, 60.

[19] *Arch.* 18, 22, 27.

[20] *Sest.* 102, 117-23, 126.

[21] *Planc.* 59.

speech has several citations from Roman comedy (one of them perhaps five lines long), with the Terentian cliché *hinc illae lacrimae* later to follow.[22] The speech *On the consular provinces* has no quotations, but does contain a reference to Ennius as *summus poeta*.[23] *De haruspicum responsis* has theatrical allusions in § 39. Ennius (*summus ille poeta noster*) is twice quoted in the defence of Balbus[24] and twice in that of Rabirius Postumus,[25] since *poeta ille noster* in § 28 is surely he. Ennius, Accius, and Plautus come under contribution in different parts of *In Pisonem*[26] and a tragedian unnamed in the fragmentary defence of Scaurus.[27] Only the short *Testimony against Vatinius* of 56 lacks all poetical reference; but a letter[28] reveals that the defence of Vatinius in the same year used a scene in Terence's *Eunuch* to illustrate the orator's situation vis-à-vis the optimates. The six verses in the letter had presumably been recited in court.

After 54 Cicero's urge to quote in public seems to have flagged, or perhaps the nature of the speeches partly accounts for the falling off. The defence of Milo offers nothing in this way, the three *Caesarianae* only a single line from an unknown tragedy.[29] The *Philippics* are mostly barren: the first has Accius' *oderint dum metuant* again; the second two scraps, one from Naevius (*poeta nescioquis*) and the names of Phormio, Gnatho, and Ballio as typical rascals; the thirteenth another half-line of unknown origin and a phrase adapted from Lucilius.[30]

In 56-55 Cicero wrote his three Books *On the orator,* first in the series of tracts on rhetoric and philosophy which continued almost to the end of his life, interrupted only by the Proconsulate and the Civil War. Like nearly all of them, it abounds in citations from Latin poetry. As in his speeches, he felt himself precluded from quoting Greek authors in the original, though they sometimes appear in his own translations. The practice of poetic quotation was endemic in Cicero's Greek sources; Chrysippus especially indulged in it *ad nauseam*.[31] But for Cicero it served not only as literary seasoning but also to air his

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[22] *Cael.* 18, 36-38, 61.

[23] *Prov. cons.* 20.

[24] *Balb.* 36, 51.

[25] *Rab. Post.* 28, 29.

[26] *Pis.* 43, 61, 82.

[27] *Scaur.* 3.

[28] *Fam.* 1. 9. 19.

[29] *Deiot.* 25.

[30] *Phil.* 1. 34; 2. 65, 104, 15; 13. 49, 15.

[31] Diog. Laert. 7. 18. 1.

enthusiasm for the good old writers whom Euphorion's disciples scorned. The quotations in *De oratore* amount to almost 50, a number exceeded only in the *Tusculans*.

In his extant letters, which in total volume almost equal the rhetorica and the philosophica combined, Cicero was not inhibited from quoting Greek, at least to certain correspondents, including Atticus and his brother. The three Books of letters to the latter, dating from 59 to 54, contain ten or eleven quotations from Greek poets, most of them from Homer, and only one from Latin, to which may be added an allusion to Lucilius.[32] Greek quotations also predominate in the Atticus correspondence, but some thirty from Latin are scattered among its sixteen Books. *Ad familiares* has about as many. Among the "friends" Trebatius Testa and Papirius Paetus get five apiece. Paetus is the only correspondent to produce quotations of his own, from a tragedy of Accius and a comedy of Trabea, except for a line of Pacuvius put in by Caelius Rufus. The letters to Marcus Brutus of 43 contain a line from Plautus' *Trinummus* and another from an unknown play, the latter already quoted to Atticus many years previously.

The quotations in the Letters presumably came spontaneously from memory and should offer the most significant pointer to Cicero's taste and knowledge in this field. About one in five occur more than once in the letters and about one in four occur also in the published works. Thus about half the total are demonstrated as tags firmly rooted in Cicero's mind. The most favored authors are Ennius (especially *Annals* and *Medea*) and Terence, though two of the latter's six plays, *Adelphi* (!) and *Hecyra* are unrepresented. Lucilius, Naevius, and Accius are sparse, and a single quotation apiece represents Pacuvius, Plautus, Caecilius, Trabea, Turpilius, Afranius, and Atilius. However, some fifteen of uncertain origin without doubt come mostly from one or other of the three tragedians.

Reverting now to the speeches and treatises, we find Ennius again far out in the lead with, on a rough reckoning exclusive of repeats,[33] 32 citations from the *Annals*, 65 from tragedies, and six from other works. Of 43 to be ascribed with more or less assurance to particular plays, ten come from *Medea,* which thus keeps pride of place; but *Thyestes, Andromache,* and *Alcmaeon* score between five and eight. At least eight

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[32] *Q. fr.* 3. 4. 2.

[33] The statistics were compiled independently, but may be compared with the data in Zillinger (see above, note 15). They are presented as indicative of Cicero's taste and range, not as absolute, which no such statistics well could be, given the many uncertainties of attribution and other variables.

more are represented in the assigned fragments. Pacuvius and Accius follow with 22 and 30 citations respectively and eight or nine assignable plays apiece, the latter's *Atreus,* with perhaps ten citations, being a particular favorite. Naevius crops up occasionally, once in the second *Philippic,* twice in the *Orator,* once in *De senectute* (the play is named, *The wolf*), and with the well-worn *laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro* in the *Tusculans.*[34] Upwards of 50 fragments of doubtful authorship are nearly all from tragedy. In comedy, Terence, commended to Atticus for the elegance of his Latin, remains an easy favorite with 23 citations from five plays; but *Adelphi* scores only three, *Hecyra,* as in the letters, zero. One verse cited as from Terence in the tract *On the nature of the gods* is not to be found in our texts — presumably a lapse of memory on Cicero's part. Caecilius can boast thirteen fragments, three of them from his *Young comrades* (*Synephebi*). Plautus, on the other hand, fares no better, proportionately, than in the letters; three out of four citations come from *Trinummus* (one of them in the *De inventione,* but found also in *Ad Herennium*), one from *Aulularia.* Quotations from the smaller comic fry are very scarce; Afranius and Trabea have two each, Turpilius one. Atellan farce is represented by two examples from Novius in *De oratore.* Lucilius comes out strongly with fifteen. The only non-dramatic citation, apart from Ennius and Lucilius, is of an epigram by the elder Catulus.

Passing to Cicero's personal comments, one has to own that these do not amount to very much. In the *Brutus* and elsewhere he shows himself an expert and perspicacious critic of his fellow-orators, and his sketch of Roman historiography in the *Laws* is sufficiently incisive and discriminating. But he nowhere takes a similarly comprehensive look at the poets, and what he says of them individually rarely goes beyond banalities. In his speeches Ennius is favored with the titles *summus poeta* and *ingeniosus poeta,* as we have seen, and in the *Tusculans*[35] Cicero is moved at one point to exclaim *O poetam egregium!* and *Praeclarum carmen!* Accius too in the *Pro Sestio* is *summus poeta, gravis ille et ingeniosus poeta, doctissimus poeta,* whereas Pacuvius, least quoted of the three, is merely *bonus poeta,* in *De oratore.*[36] So it comes as something of a surprise that the little work *De optimo genere oratorum* (§ 2) gives Pacuvius primacy among Roman tragedians, though so far as Ennius is concerned that may have been because *he* had already been awarded the prize for epic. The same passage puts Caecilius first for comedy (but with a "perhaps"), despite the poor latinity of which he

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[34] *Tusc.* 4. 67; cf. *Fam.* 5. 12. 7; 15. 6. 1.

[35] *Tusc.* 3. 45 ff.

stands accused in a letter to Atticus, by contrast with the purity of
Terence's.[37] Horace's judgments in his *Epistle to Augustus* will be
recalled. It is of interest to compare the earlier comic canon of Volca-
cius Sedigitus. There too Caecilius comes first out of ten, but Plautus
is second, with an easy lead over the rest of the field. The obscure
Licinius comes third, Naevius fourth ("when he warms up," if my
conjecture *cum fervet*[38] is admitted), followed by Atilius, Terence, Tur-
pilius, Trabea, Luscius, and, "for antiquity's sake," Ennius. The strik-
ing difference, of course, is Cicero's relative neglect of Plautus (recog-
nized by the omission of his name in the passage of Quintilian referred
to above)[39] and his cultivation of Terence, though this may merely
reflect a current tendency. As the first century B.C. wore on, Roman
schoolmasters would be likely to favor Terence for the quality on which
Cicero remarks, the elegance of his diction. And that, I suppose, is
why we have Terence complete, while four of his five superiors on Vol-
cacius' list are no more. Of *dimidiate Menander* I say nothing, since the
authorship of that celebrated appraisal seems to remain in doubt. As
for Lucilius, Cicero commends his wit in the same terms as Horace —
urbanitas, sal, facete. The complimentary epithet *doctus,* however, is
qualified in another place by the remark that Lucilius' writings are "of
a lighter sort," *ut urbanitas summa appareat, doctrina mediocris.*[40]

Of greater interest are a few scattered observations on lesser
names, such as the criticism of Livius Andronicus in the *Brutus.*[41] "The
Latin *Odyssey* resembles a work of Daedalus, and Livius' plays are not
worth a second reading." That is in line with Ennius' contempt for
Saturnians, though Naevius in the same passage gets kinder treat-
ment:[42] his *Punica* is like a sculpture by Myron (i.e. it stands some-
where between the primitive and the mature) and, granted that Ennius
is the more finished craftsman, he ought not to have affected to despise
an author for whom his practice demonstrated some respect. Also in
the *Brutus*[43] Afranius is noticed as "a very clever fellow" (*homo perar-
gutus*), "even eloquent — as a playwright." Atilius, ranked by Volca-
cius immediately above Terence, is severely handled. The only

[36] *De orat.* 2. 187.

[37] *Att.* 7. 3. 10.

[38]See "Notes on Minor Latin Poetry," *Phoenix* 32 (1978), p. 305.

[39]See above, note 16.

[40] *Fin.* 1. 7.

[41] *Brut.* 71.

[42] *Brut.* 75-76.

[43] *Brut.* 167.

quotation, in a letter to Atticus,[44] is followed by the comment: "Not very neat — the writer is Atilius, a very harsh versifier (*poeta durissimus*)." Exactly what Cicero found amiss in the offending iambic tetrameter is uncertain, but *durissimus* will refer, at least primarily, to technique, as does in my opinion *durior* in Quintilian's famous pronouncement on Cornelius Gallus. In *De finibus*[45] Atilius' version of Sophocles' *Electra* is adduced as an example of poor work, with the added information that Licinius (Licinus?) called him *ferreus scriptor*. And yet, Cicero adds, he should be read, "for to be unread in our native poets is to be scandalously lazy or else daintily supercilious."

A search in Cicero's works for *obiter dicta* on early Latin poetry in general is seldom rewarding, but there is interest, and consolation, in the remark (in the *Orator*[46]) that the rhythm in comic senarii is sometimes barely perceptible. So the schoolboys of Westminster performing Terence as prose might have had Cicero's indulgence, if not his blessing.

Himself a translator from Greek originals, Cicero might be expected to comment at some point on this aspect of Roman verse, dramatic verse at least. In fact he has left two statements on the subject, so contradictory[47] as to raise doubts about the quality of thought and degree of attention he spared for such matters. In his *Academic questions*[48] he says that Ennius and his successors reproduced the import of their models, not the words: *non verba sed vim Graecorum*. Yet in *De finibus*,[49] written the same year, they are described as word for word translators (*fabellas ad verbum e Graecis expressas*). In both passages Cicero says what it suits his argument to say; but in one of them, that is in *De finibus*, he is wrong.[50] The Latin tragedies were not literal translations; that much is clear from the survivals.

The Romans, we read in the *Tusculans*,[51] had been slow to recognize the importance of poetry, and Roman poetry had been held back thereby; but its luminaries were no unworthy match for the glorious

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[44] *Att.* 14. 20. 3.

[45] *Fin.* 1. 5.

[46] *Orat.* 184.

[47] See G. D'Anna, "Fabellae Latinae ad verbum e Graecis expressae," *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 7 (1965), pp. 364-83.

[48] *Acad.* 1. 10.

[49] *Fin.* 1. 4.

[50] Even allowing for an element of exaggeration in the phrase *ad verbum expressas;* cf. Ter. *Ad.* 10-11 *eum hic locum sumpsit sibi / in Adelphos, verbum de verbo expressum extulit.*

[51] *Tusc.* 1. 3.

Greeks. How assiduously did Cicero read their works? He was at any
rate a frequent and knowledgeable play-goer, highly sensitive to the
popular demonstrations which often met celebrities like himself as they
entered the theatre. A precious passage in a letter to Atticus[52] of 54
illustrates:

> I returned to Rome on 9 July and went to the theatre. To begin
> with, the applause was loud and steady as I entered — but never
> mind that, I am a fool to mention it. To proceed, I saw Antipho,
> who had been given his freedom before they put him on stage. Not
> to keep you too long in suspense, he won the prize; but never have I
> seen such a weedy little object, not a scrap of voice, not a — but
> never say I say so! As Andromache at least he stood head and
> shoulders above Astyanax! ...Now you'll want to know about Arbus-
> cula: first-rate![53]

But for most of his life Cicero was a very busy man, and there is small
likelihood and no evidence that such time as he had left for reading was
largely spent on the Latin poets. He had other fish to fry.

Then there is the wider question of Cicero's response to poetry as
such. Everyone will think of the purple patch in *Pro Archia*.[54]

> Rightly, then, did our great Ennius call poets "holy," for they seem
> recommended to us by the benign bestowal of God. Holy then, gen-
> tlemen, in your enlightened eyes let the name of poet be, inviolate
> hitherto by the most benighted of races! The very rocks of the wild-
> erness give back a sympathetic echo to the voice; savage beasts have
> sometimes been charmed into stillness by song; and shall we, who
> are nurtured upon all that is highest, be deaf to the appeal of poetry?

Eloquent, certainly, but not very revealing. The speech dilates on the
moral and recreational value of poetry, but much more on its capacity
to immortalize famous men. It tells us nothing directly about Cicero's
aesthetic sensibilities. But Seneca has preserved his derogatory opinion
of the Greek lyricists; and there is a significance not to be overlooked
in his admiration for his client's talent for improvising:

> ...how often, I say, have I seen him, without writing a single letter,
> extemporizing quantities of excellent verse dealing with current to-
> pics! How often have I seen him, when recalled, repeat his original

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[52] *Att.* 4. 15. 6.

[53] Some things do not change. Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann of an
eighteenth-century Antipho (*Letters of Horace Walpole,* ed. P. Cunningham [London
1857-59], I, p. 168): "His acting I have seen, and may say to you, who will not tell it
again here, I see nothing wonderful in it; but it is heresy to say so."

[54] *Pro Archia Poeta* 18 ff. (tr. N. H. Watts [London 1923]).

matter with an entire change of word and phrase![55]

One almost expects to be told that he did it standing on one leg. Horace would not have applauded these exhibitions: neither, I fancy, would Catullus. True, Cicero was addressing a jury less literary than himself. But the president of the court was his brother, who later turned out Latin versions of four Sophoclean tragedies in sixteen days during a quiet spell in Gaul.[56] Cicero approved.

Poets, says the *Pro Archia*, should, according to the best authorities, be considered ''holy'' because, unlike other artists, who depend on knowledge, rules, and technique, the poet's power comes from Nature and a kind of divine inspiration. Similarly in *De oratore*:[57] ''I have often heard (and they say Democritus and Plato have left it in their writings) that no good poet can come into being without a kindling of spirit and an afflatus of something akin to frenzy.'' This somewhat one-sided view is suggestive, not in itself, but as showing what Cicero's abstract pronouncements show so often, a victory of acquired doctrine over personal experience. Archias' displays were poetry, at least for Cicero. Were *they* a product of nature and Platonic frenzy? Were his own *Aratea*? It would seem that he never thought about poetry carefully enough to ask such questions. I do not think G. B. Townend is quite correct when he says:[58] ''Ultimately it must be recognized, as Cicero himself did in moments of depression, simply that he lacked inspiration.'' Townend was thinking, I imagine, of Cicero's excuse in a letter to his brother, who was urging him to verse composition; *abest* ἐνθουσιασμός. All Cicero meant by that was that he was too busy and bothered at that particular time to develop this *sine qua non*. But whether he knew it or not, he *did* lack inspiration, *all* the time. And it failed to excite him in contemporary genius: blind to Catullus, purblind to Lucretius. As for the old masters, his enjoyment of a bravura passage like Ennius' *o pater, o patria, o Priami domus!* was surely genuine; and it is to Cicero that we owe the preservation of a large proportion of their surviving lines. For that let us be duly thankful, even while we discern an ironic possibility that it was less patriotic pride or literary pleasure than the potent impulse of punctured self-esteem which made him their champion.

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[55] *Ibid.*, 18.

[56] *Q. fr.* 3. 5. 7 (3. 6).

[57] *De orat.* 2. 194; cf. *Tusc.* 1. 6. 4.

[58] In *Cicero* (ed. T. A. Dorey, [London 1965]), p. 123.

5

Catullus, Ennius, and the Poetics of Allusion[1]

JAMES E. G. ZETZEL

> It is this backward motion toward the source,
> Against the stream, that most we see ourselves in,
> The tribute of the current to the source.
>
> Robert Frost, *West-Running Brook*

Almost since Catullus' own lifetime, it has been axiomatic to any discussion of the so-called new poetry that one of the primary aspects of its novelty lies in its rejection of earlier Roman poetry. The new poets, we are told, turned away from the clumsy style and heroic subjects of earlier Latin literature; they adopted instead the manner and the matter of Alexandrian poetry, particularly of Callimachus. They wrote urbane short poems and recondite epyllia; they made use of Greek words in transliteration and of learned allusions after the manner of the Alexandrians; they polished the hexameter to such a degree that Catullus, in poem 64, shows not a single violation of Hermann's Bridge. In short, it would seem, the poetry of the neoterics is Greek in all but its use of the Latin language.

To some degree, this description of neoteric style is exaggerated; but it is salutary to remember that there are still reputable scholars who look on Catullus 64 as a translation of a lost Greek original, and Giangrande has tried to identify the model as a product of the school of

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[1] In keeping with the original form of this paper as a lecture, I have added relatively little annotation. The main changes have been occasioned by the appearance, since I delivered the oral version, of Richard F. Thomas' article (below, note 7), whose examination of Ennian influence on Catullus 64. 1-18 is more detailed than my own, but with whose approach (as will be seen) I disagree. I am grateful to my wife, Susanna Stambler, for her improvements of this article, and to the other speakers and audience at the University of Minnesota for their helpful comments.

Rhianus Cretensis.[2] Few indeed would go so far as that, but the possibility of any extensive debt of Catullus, at least in his longer poems, to the masterpieces of early Roman literature is one that leaves many critics profoundly uneasy. Of the use of Ennius in Catullus 64, C. J. Fordyce remarked that "Alexandrian artifices are imposed on the traditional style of the Latin hexameter as it had come down from Ennius."[3] In other words, in this interpretation Catullus was influenced by Ennius only in so far as such influence was the unavoidable result of their shared use of the Latin language and the dactylic hexameter. What is significant in Catullus' style is thus the Alexandrian artifice; the Ennian elements are only there because they had to be.

It would be perverse to suggest that Catullus or any of his fellow-neoterics nursed a deep and abiding admiration for archaic Roman literature, but it would be equally foolish to ignore what use is made in Catullus both of archaic diction and of reminiscences of specific passages of Ennius' poetry. It is clearly not the case that Catullus wished to emulate the forms or the style of Ennian epic. The neoterics preferred to compose epigrams, lyrics and epyllia, not epic.[4] Annals, the form most closely associated with Ennius, were the object of neoteric scorn, deemed suitable for fish-wrappings in poem 95, described as *cacata charta* in poem 36. As a follower of Callimachean theory, Catullus rejected epic, both in terms of its style and in terms of its subject, and no collection of Ennian allusions should be taken to suggest anything else. The goal of this paper is to suggest, however, that Catullus was not totally scornful of archaic Roman poetry. In the first place, Ennius provided a Roman equivalent for the Alexandrians' use of Homeric diction.[5] And, in the second place, allusions to specific passages of Ennius, like allusions to other authors, are an instrument for conveying poetic meaning. As for the Alexandrians, an imitation of a specific earlier text was often meant to draw the reader's attention to the similarities or differences between the two works, to provide a subtext of allusions which might reflect on the surface argument of a

[2]G. Giangrande, "Das Epyllion Catulls im Lichte der hellenistischen Epik," *L'Antiquité Classique* 41 (1972), pp. 123-47. The assumption of a Greek model is made explicit on p. 146; the discussion of Rhianus' alleged influence appears on pp. 139 ff.

[3]C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus, A Commentary* (Oxford 1961), p. 275; so also T. E. Kinsey, "Irony and Structure in Catullus 64," *Latomus* 24 (1965), p. 912.

[4]For a recent discussion with bibliography of the nature of neotericism, see R. O. A. M. Lyne, "The Neoteric Poets," *Classical Quarterly* 28 (1978), pp. 167-87.

[5]See W. V. Clausen, "The new direction in poetry," *Cambridge History of Classical Literature* II (Cambridge 1982), p. 188 (quoted below, at note 10).

appearance of Dionysus, and seven in the 38 lines concerning the arrival of the divine wedding-guests. In other words, the mannerism is manipulated, and was felt to have certain distinct purposes: no matter how fond Catullus may have been of spondaic verses, he thought them appropriate for descriptive passages, but not for direct speech.

Other stylistic features have a similarly uneven distribution. R.O.A.M. Lyne has analyzed the use of verses with a main trochaic caesura in the third foot, and notes their tendency to cluster to create an effect. He also points out Catullus' tendency to give sequences of "emphatically fourth-foot-homodyned lines" to similar effect. And linguistic archaisms show similar groupings: they cluster at the beginning of the poem, in the initial description of the coverlet, and in Ariadne's lament. As Lyne well remarks, "Catullus deploys archaisms as part of a general stylistic plan, as well as to achieve local and individual effect with each instance.[9]

What is perhaps most relevant to our purpose here, however, is to note one curious feature of Catullus' use of marked stylistic mannerisms, that the passages which show the highest concentrations of archaic diction also show a high incidence of those features which we more customarily identify as neoteric. This combination is in fact a logical consequence of Catullus' Alexandrianism. Just as Callimachus joined Homeric language with his own coinages, so Catullus combined archaic and modern features. As Clausen remarks in connection with the opening verses of Catullus 64: "All this — and these three lines are typical of the poem throughout — might seem but an absurd confusion of Hellenistic artifice, with Ennius doubling for Homer; yet the voice of Catullus does emerge, powerfully if obliquely."[10] It will be suggested below that Catullus' reminiscences of Ennius, like Callimachus' allusions to early Greek poetry, can refer as much to context and content as to diction alone.

Stylistic mannerisms, however skilfully deployed, can only impart a general tone to a passage or poem; specific allusions have a much more pointed effect. Consider, for example, Catullus' poem on his brother's grave (101):

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus
    aduenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias....

It is not mere adornment or polemic that leads Catullus to mark the description of his voyage to Troy by a clear allusion to the opening lines of the *Odyssey,* nor is it coincidental that an allusion to both these passages is found in Anchises' words to Aeneas in the underworld (*Aen.* VI. 692-93):[11]

> Quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora uectum
> accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!

It is eminently appropriate to Catullus' linking of his brother's death with the death of *uirtus* and his vision of the Trojan War as the death, not the apex, of the heroic age (68. 89 ff.) that he portray his eastern voyage as a backward *Odyssey,* an anti-*nostos.* And it is equally appropriate that Virgil not only include an allusion to the opening of the *Odyssey* at the end of the Odyssean half of his poem but also reverse Catullus' poem by having the dead speak to the living, not the living to the dead, in Homer's words.[12]

Not all allusions to previous literature have a function beyond their immediate context, even if we are able to recognize them. When Catullus alludes to the opening lines of the *Iliad* at 64. 152 ff., there does not seem to be any particular resonance;[13] when he translates the verse of an unknown Hellenistic poet at 64. 111 we have no idea why he does so. Even when he alludes to identifiable lines of Ennius in the opening of poem 64, there is no clear reason for us, or for the poet, to connect the sailing of the Argo to the departure of the Roman fleet in 190 B.C.[14] But when he alludes to the opening of the *Odyssey* in poem 101, as mentioned above, or when he alludes to one of Sappho's epithalamia in 11. 22 ff., he clearly intended the learned reader to

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[11]On these passages see G. B. Conte, "Memoria dei poeti e arte allusiva," *Strumenti Critici* 16 (1971), pp. 325-33.

[12]On beginnings and ends, see below, note 28.

[13]On this passage, see J. E. G. Zetzel, "A Homeric Reminiscence in Catullus," *American Journal of Philology* 99 (1978), pp. 332-33. There have been three replies to this note, by R. Renehan, *AJP* 100 (1979), pp. 473-74, R. F. Thomas, *AJP* 100 (1979), pp. 475-76, and James H. Dee, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 111 (1981), pp. 39-42. Of these, only that of Thomas seems to me at all cogent; but rather than reply in detail, I will simply point out that his suggestion that Catullus 64. 152 ff. is a commonplace rather than an allusion to *Iliad* I. 4 ff. seems to be refuted, according to his own methods in the article cited above (note 7), by Virgil's double imitation of the lines of both Homer and Catullus in *Aen.* IX. 485 ff. According to the same method, Ovid *Her.* 10. 96 shows that he at least recognized an allusion to Zenodotus' text of Homer in glossing *praeda* with *cibus.* Dee's suggestion that the allusion is unlikely because neither Callimachus nor Catullus was interested in Homer is both absurd and a misreading of the articles of Thomas and Lyne which he cites in justification.

[14]On this passage, see below, pp. 257-58.

compare the context in the source with his own adaptation and to use the original to enhance the appreciation and understanding of Catullus' poem, not just to admire his *doctrina*.

The same effort of comparison and comprehension is demanded of the reader by most of Catullus' identifiable allusions to Ennius, in both the epigrams and poem 64. Two epigrams allude to identifiable fragments of the *Annales,* and the technique of allusion is the same as that described above with reference to poem 101.[15] The first of these is generally recognized by commentators on both poets. Catullus concludes poem 115, an ironic praise of Mamurra for his extensive properties, with the couplet (115. 7-8):

> omnia magna haec sunt, tamen ipsest maximus ultro,
> non homo, sed uero mentula magna minax.

The alliteration of the final words would alone lead one to suspect parody, and the source survives in a verse of the *Annales* (621 V):

> Machina multa minax minitatur maxima muris.

Ennius is speaking of a siege engine, and Catullus of something rather smaller; but the recognition of the parody clearly enhances one's appreciation of Catullus' epigram.[16]

The other example of the use of the *Annales* in Catullus' epigrams is less familiar. The last example in Latin poetry, and the only one in Catullus, of the dropping of final *s* occurs in the last line of the corpus of Catullus, in a poem to Gellius. Catullus states that he has in the past tried to soften Gellius' attacks on him by seeking to send him poems of Callimachus; now, seeing that that is futile, he will protect himself and reply in kind (116. 7-8):

> contra nos tela ista tua euitabimus †amitha
> at fixus nostris tu dabi' supplicium.

This is not the only stylistic peculiarity in poem 116; the same epigram also contains the only purely spondaic hexameter in classical Latin poetry. The archaisms, like the alliteration in poem 115, lead one to suspect parody, especially since the reference to Callimachus suggests that the poem is likely to be concerned with literary polemics.[17] Once

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[15]Both passages are discussed by S. Timpanaro, *Contributi di filologia e di storia della lingua latina* (Rome 1978), p. 177, note 42.

[16]Vahlen *ad loc.* suggested that the context of Ennius' line was Marcellus' siege of Syracuse, but no certainty is possible.

[17]On this poem, see C. W. Macleod, "Catullus 116," *Classical Quarterly* 23 (1973), pp. 304-09.

more Ennius supplies a plausible model (99-100 V):[18]

> nec pol homo quisquam faciet impune animatus
> hoc nec tu: nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas.

Here the parody has a deeper purpose than in the preceding poem: Catullus is ceasing to send Gellius poems of Callimachus, as signs of friendship, and is instead sending him weapons, weapons which are, in fact, Ennius. That opposition alone has an obvious literary significance, but it is also important to recognize the Ennian context: Romulus' words to Remus before killing him are transferred to Catullus' attack on one of his rivals.

A short poem does not provide scope for an elaborate set of allusions. In each of these cases, a single line in Catullus makes use of an Ennian reminiscence to add point to a joke, and the original context, whether it is the siege of Syracuse in the first case or the murder of Remus in the second, cannot be said to add more than a slight twist to the epigram and to permit the learned reader to savor his erudition. In the second case, of course, there is something more, because the fact that it is Ennius who is recalled is a deliberate foil to the mention of Callimachus in the second verse. What may be significant, however, in the larger context of the relationship of Catullus to Ennius, is that Catullus can expect his readers to be familiar with Ennius. The style of the earlier poet may be parodied or rejected, but knowledge of the text is a necessity.

It is possible to say rather more about the allusions to Ennius in Catullus 64 than about those in the shorter poems. Not only are there more allusions, but the majority of them seem to form a significant pattern, forcing the reader to recall the Ennian text and use it in interpreting Catullus' poem. Of the five recognizable allusions to Ennius in poem 64, four are to a single work, the *Medea Exul,* one to the *Annales.* The last, most recently discussed by Thomas, is of a different, and simpler, type than the others. As Thomas has pointed out,[19] 64. 6-7:

> ausi sunt uada salsa cita decurrere puppi,
> caerula uerrentes abiegnis aequora palmis.

alludes to two adjacent fragments of the *Annales* (384-86 V):

> uerrunt extemplo placide mare marmore flauo;
> caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum.
> labitur uncta carina, uolat super impetus undas.

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[18]I read *nec* rather than *nisi* in line 100 following Baehrens and Valmaggi and *dabis* rather than *das* following Servius Auctus, Valmaggi and Timpanaro.

[19]Thomas (above, note 7), pp. 156 ff.

The similarities between Catullus and Ennius here are in diction, not in word order or phraseology. As Thomas' table of parallels suggests, Catullus chose to use these lines of Ennius not because of any contextual similarity between the sailing of the Roman fleet and the departure of the Argo, but because of his desire to use archaic language to evoke a mood.

Before attempting to draw any wide-reaching conclusions from the reminiscences of the *Medea Exul* in Catullus 64, it would be just as well to set them out in detail. The first is in the opening lines of the poem:

> Peliaco quondam prognatae uertice pinus
> dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas....

As has long been known, the first lines of poem 64 recall the opening of Ennius' play (246 ff. V = 208 ff. J):

> Utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus
> caesae accidissent abiegnae ad terram trabes....

Wilamowitz, stating as an obvious fact that Catullus was borrowing from Ennius, pointed out that the order of events in Catullus' proem was not that of Euripides, who began from the passage through the Symplegades and then went back to the cutting of trees on Mt. Pelion, but that of Ennius, who related the events in strictly chronological order.[20] There are several verbal reminiscences of Ennius in the opening lines: *Argiuae robora pubis* recalls Ennius' *Argiui in ea delecti uiri,* a phrase not found in Euripides' prologue, and *auratam optantes Colchis auertere pellem* is, as Klingner notes, extremely close to Ennius' *uecti petebant pellem inauratam arietis.*[21] As Thomas has shown in detail, this passage displays a wide range of allusions; not only to Ennius, but to Apollonius, Euripides, and perhaps others as well.

The other three allusions to the *Medea Exul* occur quite close to one another, in Ariadne's speech and the accompanying description. The first comes at 64. 171-72:

> Iuppiter omnipotens, utinam ne tempore primo
> Cnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes....

Although this passage also alludes to Euripides and Apollonius, there can be little doubt that it was meant to recall the first line of the *Medea*

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[20]U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* (3rd edn., Dublin / Zürich 1973), II, p. 300. The archaisms and Ennian borrowings of the proem have been sufficiently discussed elsewhere; see, in particular, F. Klingner, "Catulls Peleus-Epos," *Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Zürich 1964), pp. 156-61, Bramble (above, note 8), pp. 35 ff., and Thomas (above, note 7), *passim.*

Exul cited above. The same fragment of Ennius is also the source of a line in Catullus' description of Ariadne, 64. 250:

> multiplices animo uoluebat saucia curas,

which is clearly drawn from the last line of the opening fragment of the *Medea Exul* (254 V = 216 J):

> Medea animo aegro amore saeuo saucia.

A different fragment of the play is the source for the final, and perhaps the most obvious, allusion to Ennius in Catullus 64, at lines 177-181:

> Nam quo me referam? quali spe perdita nitar?
> Idaeosne petam montes? at gurgite lato
> discernens ponti truculentum diuidit aequor.
> an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui
> respersum iuuenem fraterna caede secuta?

These lines are obviously modelled on Medea's similar despair (276-77 V = 217-18 J):

> Quo nunc me uortam, quod iter incipiam ingredi?
> Domum paternamne anne ad Peliae filias?

A collection of allusions such as this poses obvious questions of interpretation, and the solution of "allusion for allusion's sake" will not go far to help us. Thomas suggests that Catullus chose to start his tale of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis from the sailing of the Argo, a legend with which the marriage was not traditionally connected, because the multiplicity of versions of the story of the Argo lent itself to a display of massive erudition suitable for the *poeta doctus*.[22] But if that is so, why does the proem of the *Medea Exul* appear not only at the opening of poem 64, but twice more in the ecphrasis describing Ariadne? Surely it would be better, even without considering the content of the poem, to believe at the very least that the use of the same model in both parts of the poem would assist in binding the narrative and the ecphrasis together.[23]

If we set aside for the moment the question of why Catullus chose to allude specifically to Ennius' treatment of the story of Medea, there are a number of reasons for which Catullus may have chosen to open his poem with the story of the Argo. Thomas is certainly right to stress that, prior to Catullus, the connection of Peleus and Thetis with

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[21]Klingner (above, note 20), p. 159.

[22]Thomas (above, note 7), pp. 163 ff.

[23]So Bramble (above, note 8), pp. 37 ff.

the Argo is unimportant; but the connection of the voyage of the Argo with the story of Theseus and Ariadne has significant precedent in Apollonius. Clausen has pointed out that the story given by Catullus of Ariadne's departure from Crete with the knowledge, if not the blessings, of her family is found before him in Apollonius III. 997 ff., where Jason is being highly misleading in his wooing of Medea.[24] It is also significant that the marvelous garment given in book I of the *Argonautica* by Hypsipyle to Jason, the cloak on which the marriage of her grandparents Dionysus and Ariadne had been consummated, is used by Medea in Book IV to lure her brother Apsyrtus to his death.[25]

The weddings of Peleus and Thetis in Catullus and of Jason and Medea in Apollonius have more in common than the shared presence of the bridegrooms on the Argo and the shared references to the tale of Theseus and Ariadne. Peleus and Thetis were not the only couple to have a remarkable coverlet on their wedding bed: Jason and Medea (*Argonautica* IV. 1141 ff.) consummated their marriage on the golden fleece itself. Unusual wedding songs were performed on both occasions, by the Parcae for Peleus and Thetis, by Orpheus for Jason and Medea. And, of course, the reversal of the traditional mythic chronology in Catullus 64 makes both marriages the direct result of the voyage of the Argo.[26]

If we return then to the extraordinary concatenation of allusions to earlier treatments of the Argo at the opening of Catullus 64, it becomes quite clear that Catullus did not alter the traditional tales merely in order to be able to make learned allusions to previous versions, but that the allusions themselves provide an intertextual guide to the interpretation of the poem; the reader is meant to see the parallels between Peleus and Thetis on the one hand and Jason and Medea on the other. At the end of the proem, after he has described Thetis' falling in love with Jason at first sight, Catullus delivers an apostrophe to the heroes of the Argo (64. 22-25):

> O nimis optato saeclorum tempore nati
> heroes, saluete, deum genus! o bona matrum

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[24] W. V. Clausen, "Ariadne's Leave-Taking: Catullus 64. 116-20," *Illinois Classical Studies* II (1977), p. 220; so more briefly Kinsey (above, note 3), p. 914, note 2.

[25] The cloak is described and identified at *Arg.* IV. 423-34; on this see also Clausen (above, note 5), pp. 191 ff. For my understanding of the importance of Ariadne in Apollonius and its relevance to Catullus 64 I owe much to an unpublished lecture of A. Bulloch and an unpublished article of Clifford Weber.

[26] There is no need here to repeat the well-known alterations which Catullus made to the traditional tale of Peleus and Thetis; see Fordyce (above, note 3) on 64. 19 for a brief summary.

> progenies, saluete iter<um...
> uos ego saepe meo, uos carmine compellabo.

These verses constitute a reversal of hymnic convention, because the salutation and promise of future song belong to the end, not the beginning, of a hymn.[27] And the specific model for this passage exists, at the very end of the *Argonautica* (IV. 1773-75):

> Ἵλατ' ἀριστῆες, μακάρων γένος, αἵδε δ' ἀοιδαί
> εἰς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτεος γλυκερώτεραι εἶεν ἀείδειν
> ἀνθρώποις....

There are two possible reasons for the allusion to the end of the *Argonautica* at the beginning of Catullus' poem. One is formal: that it seems to be a convention of Alexandrian and neoteric poetry to reverse beginnings and ends.[28] But the other is thematic: the story of Peleus and Thetis, as presented by Catullus, is the sequel to the voyage of the Argo. And every reader would know that, in the traditional versions of Greek mythology, the usual sequel to the voyage of the Argo was not the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, but the tragedy of Medea.

That it is Medea and the *Medea* that are present in the opening lines of Catullus 64 is evident; Catullus begins by the obvious allusion to Ennius' play. What is less frequently emphasized in discussions of the proem, however, is Catullus' deliberate delay in mentioning his real subject. The putative first reader, coming to this poem without preconceptions and without the title which modern editors have supplied, would immediately assume, from the allusion and from the narrative, that the subject of the poem *was* Medea.[29] It is not until line 19 that Catullus makes clear that it is Peleus and Thetis, not Jason and Medea, about whom he is writing, and then he does so emphatically, by repeating Thetis' name in three successive lines. The point of that emphasis should be obvious: the poet intended to surprise the reader.

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[27] On the use of hymnic convention see Fordyce and Kroll *ad loc.* and Klingner (above, note 20), pp. 167 ff.

[28] This characteristic does not seem to have been sufficiently recognized; but note that Catullus ends poem 64 with an allusion to the opening of Hesiod's *Eoeae* (fr. 1 M-W), and that the first major episode of Callimachus' *Aetia* (frr. 7. 19-21 Pf) is an episode from the end of the voyage of the Argo, while the last episode (frr. 108-09 Pf) before the *Coma* comes from the beginning of the voyage.

[29] So Kinsey (above, note 3), pp. 915 ff.; L. C. Curran, "Catullus 64 and the Heroic Age," *Yale Classical Studies* 21 (1969), p. 185. D. P. Harmon, "Nostalgia for the age of heroes in Catullus 64," *Latomus* 32 (1973), p. 312 finds in the absence of Ennius' *utinam ne* from the opening of poem 64 a significant and deliberate reversal.

The importance of Medea in the proem to Catullus 64 was rightly stressed more than 25 years ago by Friedrich Klingner, who saw the alterations of the tale as positive and optimistic in tone.[30] Catullus, in his view, rewrote the story of Peleus and Thetis in such a way as to remove all unpleasant aspects of the tale: there is nothing here of Thetis' unwillingness to wed Peleus, nothing of her subsequent abandonment of him. It is a romantic tale of love at first sight, of the highest peak of mortal happiness, to be contrasted with the unspeakable present adumbrated in the closing lines of the poem. In this view, the importance of Medea is that she is *not* there, that she functions as an unmentioned tragic foil to the bliss of the tale Catullus tells. More recent critics have paid less attention to the allusions, more to the contradictions and antitheses present in the poem itself: between the use of the word *uirtus* and the unheroic deeds of both Theseus and Achilles which it is used to denote, between the surface brightness of the wedding song and the horrible human sacrifice and bloodthirstiness which it describes, between the happiness of Peleus and Thetis in the poem and the various disturbing elements which Catullus mentions or which were well known to readers from other versions of the tale.[31] The allusions to the story of Medea seem to offer strong support to the latter version, since from the opening words of the poem Catullus makes certain that the reader has her in mind, and that can scarcely be supposed to portend a happy tale.

None of the references to the story of Medea as a whole, however, explains Catullus' choice of the *Medea Exul* of Ennius as the specific source for his opening lines or for the later allusions in the Ariadne episode. But a number of reasons may be advanced. There is, in the first place, a generic argument, which applies to Catullus' use of both Euripides and Ennius. It is obvious that Hellenistic poetry was highly indebted to Euripidean psychology and female characterization and that even Apollonius' Medea was highly indebted to Euripides'. Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that the epyllion form in particular owes much to tragedy. Although it is formally a variety of epic, it is

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[30]Klingner (above, note 20), pp. 156-61.

[31]The most important of these interpretations are those of Curran (above, note 29), Bramble (above, note 8) and D. Konstan, *Catullus' Indictment of Rome* (Amsterdam 1977), with further bibliography. The attacks on such interpretations by Giangrande (above, note 2) and James H. Dee, "Catullus 64 and the Heroic Age: A Reply," *Illinois Classical Studies* VII (1982), pp. 98-109 are unconvincing for reasons too numerous to list here. They rely on a cross-examination of individual words and lines without any attention to context, on an unwillingness to read Catullus 64 as a poem rather than a logical treatise, on ignoring all literary allusions, and on a failure to recognize that Roman poetry is different from Greek in more than language.

in many of its techniques a version of tragedy: the extensive use of direct speech, the eclipse of narrative, the emphasis on emotion and psychology are all characteristic of drama rather than of classical epic, and of Euripidean tragedy in particular. Nor is it coincidental that the fragments of the *Hecale,* Callimachus' epyllion, show according to Pfeiffer significant linguistic affinities to Attic drama.[32] If epyllion's genre is epos, its mode is tragic, and it is only reasonable for a poet as learned as Catullus to demonstrate his understanding of his genre through the allusions employed.

As for the choice of Ennius over Euripides, several explanations are possible. In the first place, it is worth remembering that Ennius' play had represented a development from Euripides' along the lines suggested by Alexandrian poetry. Where Euripides described his Medea as $\check{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tau\iota\ \theta\upsilon\mu\grave{o}\nu\ \dot{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma$' 'Iάσονος, Ennius' is *animo aegro amore saeuo saucia.* The emphasis on female passion is a clear example of Ennius' debt to Hellenistic poetry, and it is a feature of Ennius' style which Catullus obviously recognized.[33] It is certainly not impossible that Catullus wished to demonstrate his knowledge that early Roman poetry, like his own (although to a much smaller degree), was indebted to Alexandrian poetry.

Another explanation, already mentioned, deserves further consideration, that, as Clausen observes, Ennius serves Catullus in some respects as an equivalent to Homer. But the debt of Catullus to Ennius is more than his use of the earlier poet as a source of archaisms with which to reproduce the Alexandrian taste for exquisite Homeric diction. The Alexandrian poets made Homer and other early poets the foils against which to operate: they explored their own peculiar desire to reshape the Homeric world by emphasizing poverty, domesticity, and the various unheroic qualities exemplified by Apollonius' Jason while couching their new approaches in Homeric language. Catullus used Ennius in the same way, as a representative of early Roman poetry and life rather than as the author of a specific text. Catullus, and presumably his fellow-neoterics, desired to naturalize the techniques of Alexandrianism, to interpret and adapt the Roman past and poetic traditions. The large moral and historical themes of Catullus involve a questioning

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[32]See Pfeiffer on fr. 233.

[33]Bramble (above, note 8), pp. 35 ff. emphasizes Ennius' greater moralism and solemnity than Euripides as an influence on Catullus. For the language, see Jocelyn's note (*The Tragedies of Ennius* [Cambridge 1967], p. 356). On the debt of archaic Roman poets to Hellenistic literature, see most recently G. A. Sheets, "The Dialect Gloss, Hellenistic Poetics and Livius Andronicus," *American Journal of Philology* 102 (1981), pp. 58-78.

of the values and meaning of the Roman, not the Greek tradition: not merely the use of *annales* as a poetic foil, not merely the explicit contrast of mythic past to Roman present at the end of poem 64, but consistently, through the questioning of the language of Roman public life in the epigrams, through the double-edged references to Caesar in poem 11 and to Cicero in poem 49, through the portraits of Acme and Septimius in poem 45.[34] In order to anchor the myths of Greece in the Roman tradition, Catullus uses Ennius as a point of reference, as a source of archaic diction, as a conveyer of traditional ideas of heroism, and as a Roman.

All this may seem extremely subjective and impressionistic, but there is at least one piece of evidence that suggests the larger reasons for which Catullus turned to Ennius as a source of allusion, and to the *Medea Exul* in particular. In this connection it is worth citing again a few of the lines from Ariadne's lament quoted above:

> nam quo me referam? quali spe perdita nitar...
> an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui
> respersum iuuenem fraterna caede secuta?

It has long been recognized that, in this context, the reference to a brother's blood is rather strange: Ariadne's brother (more precisely, half-brother) was none other than the Minotaur, a sibling whose death she can scarcely have regretted to any great extent. In the Ennian and Euripidean models, the reference to a brother's death makes more sense: Medea had been responsible for the murder of Apsyrtus.[35] What is significant, however, is that the passages of Ennius and Euripides in question make no mention of that unfortunate event; Catullus must have added it on his own. Some interpreters explain this passage by connecting it with the circumstances of Catullus' own life, the intimate relationship of his feelings for Lesbia with his grief for his brother; and that explanation, while it cannot be pressed too far, has much to commend it.[36] But there is also a literary explanation of some interest.

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[34]On this topic in general, see D. O. Ross, Jr., *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry* (Cambridge 1975), pp. 9-15; on the various specific poems, see M.C.J. Putnam, "Catullus 11: The Ironies of Integrity," *Ramus* 3 (1974), pp. 70-86 (= *Essays on Latin Lyric, Elegy, and Epic* [Princeton 1982], pp. 13-29), D. O. Ross, Jr., "Style and Content in Catullus 45," *Classical Philology* 60 (1965), pp. 256-59. The fullest exposition (not entirely convincing) of a "Roman" interpretation of poem 64 is that of Konstan (above, note 31); I have stated my own views more fully, but without annotation, in "Catullus," *Ancient Writers,* ed. T. J. Luce (New York 1982), pp. 643-67.

[35]On the peculiarity of Catullus' reference, see, for example, Kroll on 64. 150; Konstan (above, note 31), p. 68.

[36]Konstan (above, note 31), p. 73, note 157 rejects it as "grotesque," and it is obvious that there is no consistent metaphor employed. For the autobiographical interpre-

Catullus was not the first Roman to add a reference to a brother's death to an imitation of these lines of Ennius; it had been done some 70 years earlier, in the last speech of Gaius Gracchus before his murder in 121 B.C. (fr. 61 ORF²):

quo me miser conferam? quo uortam? in Capitoliumne? at fratris sanguine redundat. an domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantem uideam et abiectam?

That Gracchus was imitating Ennius is obvious, and that Catullus was writing with full awareness of both passages ought to be.[37] Where Ennius has *quo nunc me uortam?* and Gracchus has *quo me miser conferam? quo uortam?*, Catullus has *nam quo me referam?*, changing the prefix of Gracchus' verb in typically learned fashion.[38]

It would not do to press the precise significance of this allusion too much. Gracchus, unlike the mythical heroines, had not caused his brother's death, nor had Catullus. And one should not suggest that Catullus used Ennius' *Medea* because Gracchus too had used it; it is used with far too many overtones to be explained so simply. Nevertheless, it was certainly a convenient coincidence, linking the great past of Roman literature with the beginning of social upheavals at Rome and thus with the decay of Roman values that is so important a motif for Catullus. Even if Ennius' greatest work, the *Annales,* was not a text which could supply a model for Catullus either in its techniques or in its values, he remained, through his dramatic works, a poetic ancestor to be recognized and acknowledged. To recreate a true Alexandrianism at Rome, it was not enough to imitate the Greek poets slavishly. Cicero, in the *Tusculan Disputations* (3. 45), interrupted his quotation from Ennius' *Andromacha* to address the poet:[39]

O poetam egregium! quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur.

If by scorn Cicero meant only the absence of uncritical admiration, he was of course right; but the neoterics were not mere *cantores*

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tation of poem 64 see M.C.J. Putnam, "The Art of Catullus 64," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 65 (1961), pp. 165-205 (= *Essays* [above, note 34], pp. 45-85).

[37]Of recent commentators on Catullus only Quinn, to my knowledge, even cites the fragment of Gracchus, but he does not see the consequences. Jocelyn (above, note 33), p. 357 notes both allusions to Ennius, but does not connect them.

[38]On Alexandrian alterations of prefixes and suffixes, see G. Giangrande, "'Arte Allusiva' and Alexandrian Epic Poetry," *Classical Quarterly* 17 (1967), p. 85 (= *Scripta Minora Alexandrina* 1 [Amsterdam 1980], p. 11). Note also Varro Atacinus' alteration of Catullus' *deperdita* to *experdita:* see Clausen (above, note 24), pp. 222 ff.

[39]On this passage see, most recently, Lyne (above, note 4), pp. 166, 174 with further references.

Euphorionis and their poetry was Roman in more than language alone. Catullus, and presumably his friends as well, knew that it was necessary to do more than import Greek techniques to create a new poetry at Rome, that it had to be anchored in some way in their own heritage. They had the sense to understand that the rude origins of Latin litera- ture had much to commend them, and that by acknowledging Ennius they could acquire a past on which to build.

This paper has concentrated on the interpretation of a small group of allusions to Ennius in Catullus, but has also involved some brief consideration of a number of larger questions about the nature of Alex- andrianism and neotericism as a whole. And perhaps some final obser- vations on that subject will not be out of place. Literary allusion is only part of the larger continuum of relationships between the poet and his past. Catullus may use an archaic word, he may imitate a passage of archaic poetry, he may talk about the relationship of historic or mythic past to the political or poetic present. The important fact, however, is that all these techniques are connected, and they are all significant. The new poet, like the Alexandrian, was concerned with the technical renewal of language, the recovery and renovation of old words. But the interest in old words is directly parallel to his attitude to old poems, and to old ideas. None is to be rejected out of hand, but all have, in one way or another, become stale, trite, or empty. Catullus, like Cal- limachus, wished to create a different poetics in a different world. Just as the super-human heroes of the Homeric poems had little place in Alexandria and were consequently revised on a smaller scale, so Catullus and his contemporaries rejected the stale words and ideas of Roman politics and military heroism in favor of more private worlds. But in neither the Greek nor the Roman case was that rejection uncon- ditional; both the old poetry and the world of which it had been a part had once been glorious and still remained worthy of respect. If the new poets turned away from Ennius, they did not forget him.

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Naevius and Virgil

GEORG LUCK

There is a collection of J. J. Scaliger's *Obiter Dicta*, written down by his friends and admirers and published under the title of *Scaligerana*, a fascinating book, reprinted many times: fascinating, because it shows the great scholar in a relaxed, often facetious mood, passing judgment — almost always in a final, apodictic manner — on some person, book, or issue. He was obviously expected to come up with an answer to any problem that surfaced in conversation, and in his comments he often switched from Latin to the vernacular, and back to Latin. What Scaliger said about Ennius might serve as a motto to this conference and could easily be applied to other Latin poets of the early period: "Ennius," he said, "an ancient poet of great genius. If only we had all he wrote and had lost Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus and all those guys...." "*Ennius, poeta antiquus, magnifico ingenio. Utinam hunc haberemus integrum et amisissemus Lucanum, Statium, Silium Italicum* et tous ces garçons-là...."[1]

Scaliger says nothing about Naevius, but I am convinced that he would have placed the lost epic on the First Punic War above the preserved epic on the Second Punic War.

Naevius, as everybody knows, wrote funny plays, serious plays and — late in life — an epic poem in the Saturnian meter, a verse form that is not really understood today and was, it would seem, not completely understood in Virgil's time. The author of a handbook on metrics who lived under Nero[2] had to admit that he was unable to quote, from the whole epic, one single 'normal' Saturnian line. It looks like a fairly simple scheme, yet there are many variations and, once

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[1] I am using the Amsterdam edition of 1740, vol. II, p. 85.

[2] Caesius Bassus (not Atilius Fortunatianus), *Grammatici Latini* VI, ed. H. Keil, pp. 265-66.

allowance is made for textual corruptions, the possibilities are almost endless.

The fragments of Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* have been rewritten, rearranged and reinterpreted to the point of frustration, and a whole industry has grown up — especially in Italy — around the meager remains of an early Roman epic. Some of this modern work is highly speculative, because the fragments are all quite short and their context is usually obscure.

We should probably distinguish the different ways in which these fragments are quoted. Some simply survive because an ancient grammarian wished to illustrate an unusual form, an archaic usage, a word that had disappeared from literary Latin or whose meaning had changed since the days of Naevius. Thus Priscian I. 351 H (= fr. 12 Morel) quotes two Saturnians and a half to document the genitive plural *marum* for *marium,* or Festus p. 257 M (fr. 15 M) quotes one line to illustrate the use of *quianam* in the sense of *quare, cur.* Many fragments have been transmitted in this way, without regard to their place in the context, their meaning or their beauty. But a few fragments are preserved in and through the learned exegesis of Virgil's *Aeneid,* by scholars who were interested in Virgil's sources and the way in which he used them. Most of them appear in the 'Servius Danielis', a few in Macrobius, one in 'Probus' and one in a scholion. Another tradition is represented by such authors as Varro and Gellius whose interests were partly grammatical, partly historical.

Incidentally, scholiasts sometimes preserve important material but give it a whimsical interpretation. Virgil narrates (*Aen.* VII. 107-47) the fulfilment of an important omen — the Trojans eating their tables — and has it explained by Aeneas: *genitor mihi talia namque / (nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit* (vv. 120-21). A scholion in an XIth century MS[3] says that it was the Harpy Celaeno (*Aen.* III. 245), not Anchises, who made that prophecy. This, of course, is just one of several discrepancies between Book III of the *Aeneid* and other books, but the scholiast prefers to think that Venus left to Anchises a collection of predictions, thus giving him divine status, and he quotes Naevius as his authority.

There is no question that a good deal of solid scholarship is embodied in the ancient commentaries and scholia on Virgil, as well as in Macrobius. On the other hand we should not assume that all the authors who quote Naevius had actually read the whole of the *Bellum*

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[3]Paris. Lat. 7930, on *Aen.* VII. 123.

Poenicum. In fact, H. D. Jocelyn[4] has shown, as clearly as anything can be shown, that Macrobius, and others who claim to know something about Virgil's sources, actually depend on lists and compilations that were made by various authors, sometimes to accuse Virgil of plagiarism. Hence the phrase, "This whole passage is taken from Naevius," which appears more than once, should not be accepted as readily as many scholars do accept it. How casually Macrobius, for instance, uses this formula can be seen from his comment on Book IV of the *Aeneid* where he says: *...ut de Argonauticorum quarto...librum Aeneidos suae quartum totum paene formauerit ad Didonem uel Aenean amatoriam incontinentiam Medeae circa Iasonem transferendo* (*Saturn.* V. 17. 4). In this case we have Virgil's so-called source, and it appears that Macrobius' charge is simply not true. Apart from the love theme which owes something to the story of Medea and Jason, the fourth Book of the *Aeneid* has more Homeric reminiscences, it would seem from Ribbeck's statistics, than direct references to Apollonius of Rhodes. Macrobius evidently never took the trouble of checking his statement; perhaps he never even looked into Apollonius. How valid, then, is his claim that Book II of the *Aeneid* was copied (translated?) almost word by word from Pisander (*paene ad uerbum transcripserit, Saturn.* V. 2. 4)? Such sweeping assertions seem to reflect a tradition hostile to Virgil, even though they are no longer used in a polemical way. It had become fashionable, at one point, to dwell on Virgil's lack of originality or inventiveness, and in order to document this claim scholars accumulated much material, not objectively, but in order to make a case against Virgil.

Among the poets and critics of the Augustan Age there had been a lively discussion concerning the respective merits of *ingenium* and *ars* in literary creation ($\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\nu\eta$). Ennius was the great example of much *ingenium,* little *ars,* while Callimachus represented the other extreme. Virgil apparently was ranked with Callimachus, and soon after his death, his sources were analyzed. This material was then used, in an uncritical manner, by later scholars, even though they no longer were biased.

Keeping this in mind, one still feels that the design of the *Aeneid* owes something to the *Bellum Poenicum,* and this, in turn, suggests that Virgil himself saw something of a design in an early Roman epic which seems so primitive and artless to us, just because some fragments read like prose forced into a rough metrical scheme: *Manius Valerius / consul partem exerciti   in expeditionem / ducit* (fr. 32 M). This is the style of a

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chronicle, not an epic, but there are similar passages in Ennius, and their simplicity does not exclude a certain grandeur and stateliness. After all, Naevius and Ennius were Hellenistic poets, familiar with older and contemporary Greek literature, Hellenistic poets who happened to write in Latin, a language that was just becoming literary, and we can easily believe that the *Bellum Poenicum* had a structure, a theme, an artistic conception meaningful and pleasing to Virgil. Naevius was *poeta doctus*, like his Greek colleagues.[5]

The earlier part of the work apparently described the aftermath of the Trojan War, some of the travels of Aeneas, and probably also his love affair with Dido. The assignment of fragments to books is still controversial. In antiquity there were two editions, we are told: one divided into seven books, the other without any book divisions, and that certainly did not help matters. It would seem that the very beginning of the work and most of its later portions were mainly historical, dealing with the events of the First Punic War. Here, Naevius could draw on his own memories, because he had participated in the war as a soldier. The mythical episodes may have been inserted into the historical framework by a sort of flash-back technique. What were Naevius' sources for this part? Probably the Greek historian Hellanicus whose account of Aeneas' exodus is preserved in a long excerpt in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[6] Hellanicus, in turn, may have borrowed from Stesichorus and other poets.

We cannot be certain about the Dido episode,[7] but several scholars feel today that Naevius deserves credit for the idea of establishing in myth a personal motive for the war he chronicles. It was pointed out long ago that there was more meaning in the mythical forecasting of the

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Quarterly 14 (1964), pp. 280 ff.; 15 (1965), pp. 126 ff.

[5]Cicero (*Brutus* 75) compares Naevius' epic to a sculpture by Myron, whose technique was far from primitive, though he considers Ennius more polished. Ennius himself seems to have counted Naevius among the *vates* and *fauni* of early Latin poetry (almost certainly no compliment, whatever it means), but he silently acknowledges the status of the *Bellum Poenicum* in his own time by leaving out from his *Annales* the First Punic War. In an age when archaic poetry had become fashionable again, Fronto, the teacher of Marcus Aurelius, in a letter (p. 62 N) calls Naevius one of those poets who *in eum laborem studiumque et periculum uerba industriosius quaerendo* (sic scribendum videtur: *quaerendi* cod.) *se commisere,* and he himself certainly admires the *insperatum atque inopinatum uerbum...quod praeter spem atque opinionem audientium promitur* (p. 63). This is true of Virgil, too! For possible echoes of Naevius in Fronto, see now M. P. Pieri, *Studi Traglia* (Rome 1979), pp. 11 ff.

[6]*Early Roman History* I. 45. 4 - 48. 1 (= *FGH* 1 F 31 Jacoby, with Jacoby's commentary in vol. I, pp. 444 ff.).

[7]Cf. N. Horsfall, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* 13 (1973-74), pp. 1 ff.

conflict between Rome and Carthage at a time when these two nations were fighting for supremacy or at least for survival, than in the age of Virgil when the power of Carthage was only a distant memory.[8]

The fragment (fr. 23 M) that seems to support this view, "gently and knowingly she (or he?) finds out how Aeneas had left the city of Troy,"

> blande et docte percontat,   Aenea<s> quo pacto
> Troiam urbem liquerit

fits well into the Virgilian context. In Book I of the *Aeneid* Venus talks to her son Amor about Dido's *blandae uoces* (670 ff.) that keep Aeneas in Carthage, and towards the end of the same Book, during the banquet in honor of Aeneas, Dido asks him a number of questions which reveal a certain amount of knowledge (*doctrina*) of the Trojan War and its cast of heroes. Dido, not unlike Cleopatra in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Book X, when she entertains Julius Caesar, is pictured as a well-educated Hellenistic queen who wishes to keep up with the latest developments in the world of politics, history or science, and whose table-talk is far from trivial.

Books I - III of the *Aeneid* seem to correspond in parts to Book I of the *Bellum Poenicum,* with some characteristic changes noted by ancient commentators. In Naevius, for example, Aeneas and his crew had only *one* ship (fr. 11 M), but specially built for them by Mercury, while in Virgil the Trojans have a fairly large fleet, even after the devastating storm in *Aeneid* I which also reflects a theme from the *Bellum Poenicum* (fr. 13 M). The logic (or logistics) behind this change is simple enough: Virgil had to fill the whole second half of his epic with fighting, but no ancient reader would have understood how so many warriors could have come out of only one ship. For Naevius the problem did not exist: he could make Aeneas disappear from his story, as he turned to history.[9]

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[8]W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Republic* (3rd ed., Oxford 1889), pp. 58-59.

[9]Learned tradition that goes back to antiquity connects Naevius' fr. 17 with Book IX and fr. 21 with Book X of the *Aeneid.* It seems to me that fr. 12 should be connected with a curious passage in Book XI (vv. 785-93). Here Arruns prays to the Apollo of Soracte before he throws his spear at Camilla: *Summe deum* (cf. *summi deum regis* in Naevius), *sancti custos Soractis Apollo, / quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor aceruo / pascitur, et medium freti pietate* (cf. *fretus pietate* in Naevius; the reading *pietati,* adopted by Morel and others, may be pseudo-archaic) *per ignem / cultores multa premimus uestigia pruna.* The situation is different: in the *Aeneid* Arruns supports his prayer to Apollo of Soracte by reminding him that he, Arruns, faithfully performed the ancient (Etruscan?) ritual of walking barefoot over red-hot coals, while, in the *Bellum Poenicum* it is presumably Anchises who prays to Neptune, brother of Jupiter, whom Virgil calls several times *regnator Olympi* (cf. *regnatorem marum* in Naevius). But the accumulation of borrowings from

Material, technical details such as this were important to ancient readers, and they are often dealt with at length in the commentaries that we have. The evidence points to certain objects that Aeneas was able to salvage from Troy, as opposed to other precious things which were captured by the victorious Greeks. There are some references, not all of them easy to interpret, which may be grouped together:

pulchraque <uasa> ex auro   uestemque citrosam (fr. 10 M)

(where *uasa* has been added by Reichardt) and

ferunt pulchras creterras,   aureas lepistas (fr. 7 M).

It is not clear whether these strange spellings (*creterres* for κρατῆρες, *lepistae* for λεπασταί) should be attributed to Naevius or to the medieval scribes. Unlike the medieval scribes Naevius knew Greek well, though he may have learned it in the form of a local dialect rather than as *Koine*. But he is clearly speaking about valuable vessels, and to him it may have seemed an achievement worthy of being recorded that they had been saved in the hour of defeat. In addition to these, Naevius seems to have mentioned a special kind of triangular tables, *anclabres* (fr. 8 M), used in the worship of the gods. All these objects should be placed in the same context; they were clearly essential for Aeneas and his clan, if they were to continue the cult of their gods in a foreign country, and so they may, in Naevius' epic, have illustrated Aeneas' *pietas*. Bowls or cups of this particular shape were still used in the temples of the Sabines in Varro's time, but apparently not in other parts of Italy — perhaps a local survival of Etruscan rites.[10]

It is uncertain whether the descriptive fragment (19 M) refers to one of these vessels or to a temple. A great deal has been written about these lines, mainly because of the unique plural *Atlantes*. This is the text as most editors print it:

Naevius seems significant, and the *Bellum Poenicum* was clearly in Virgil's mind when he worked on the later books of the *Aeneid*.

[10]It would seem therefore that frr. 7, 8 and 10 M belong to the same context, but that the *uasa, creterres, lepistae* and *anclabres* are perhaps more likely to be cult objects which were part of the Greek booty described in *Aen*. II. 763-65: *huc undique Troia gaza / incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum / crateresque auro solidi;* the correspondences (not noticed by the commentators, it appears) are remarkable. But there is also a crater which Anchises fills with wine (*Aen*. III. 525) when he first sees Italy; it may be the one which he had received from Cisseus, the father of Hecuba and which Aeneas later gives to Acestes (*Aen*. V. 535-38), clearly a valuable gift, decorated with figures. According to Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5. 123, *dictae lepistae quae etiamnunc in diebus sacris Sabinis uasa uinaria in mensa deorum sunt posita;* the same connection between sacred vessels and sacred tables. Both Varro and Virgil may have thought of Naevius.

> inerant signa expressa, quomodo Titani,
> bicorpores Gigantes magnique Atlantes
> Runcus ac Purpureus, filii Terras....

It seems to me that, with two small textual changes, we can cut the whole Gordian knot of problems; for *Atlantes* read *Athamantis,* and before *Terras* insert *et:*

> magnique Athamantis,
> Runcus ac Purpureus, filii <et> Terras,

i.e. *Runcus ac Purpureus, filii magni Athamantis et Terras.* It was easy for *Athamantis* to become *Atlantes,* since Atlas was a more familiar figure than Athamas; the ending *-antes* could be influenced by *Gigantes,* but the change of I to E occurs very often in texts. The omission of ET after I and before T can also be explained as a form of haplography. Naevius refers to the Gigantomachy, and both Rhoecus (Runcus) and Porphyrion (Purpureus) were Giants who took part in this epic battle: Rhoecus was killed by Dionysus, Porphyrion by Zeus. From Pindar, *Pyth.* 8. 15-17 we know that Porphyrion was king of the Giants and their leader in the battle against the gods. Other sources establish a family relationship between a Porphyrion and Athamas, but the relationship varies: according to the scholion on *Iliad* II. 511 Porphyrion, Athamas and Olmos were sons of Sisyphus; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Argynnos'; scholion on Apollonius Rhod. II. 511; but according to Nonnus, *Dionys.* IX. 315 ff. Athamas was the father of Porphyrion. Hesiod, fr. 10 West makes Athamas the brother of Sisyphus. Though the details are uncertain, the tendency of the mythical tradition seems clear: in one way or another Athamas, Porphyrion and Sisyphus are connected as "enemies" of the Olympian gods and victims of their wrath. Thus — if these textual changes are accepted — Naevius may help us to restore a detail of Greek mythology.

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The vocabulary of Naevius' epic and tragic fragments shows some kinship with Virgil's epic idiom. I have already mentioned *quianam* meaning *cur, quare* (fr. 15 M); Ennius still uses it in this sense (*Ann.* 259 V), and so does Accius (*trag.* 583). Virgil has it twice (*Aen.* V. 13; X. 6), both times in direct discourse; in the first instance Palinurus speaks, in the second Jupiter. Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* VIII. 3. 24 ff.) lists this as one of Virgil's deliberate archaisms:

> ...propriis (sc. *uerbis*) dignitatem dat antiquitas. namque et sanctiorem et magis admirabilem faciunt orationem, quibus non quilibet fuerit usurus, eoque ornamento acerrimi iudicii P. Vergilius unice est

unus. 'olli' enim et 'quianam' et 'moerus' et 'pone' et 'porricerent' adspergunt illam quae etiam in picturis est gratissima, uetustatis inimitabilem arti auctoritatem. sed utendum modo nec ex ultimis tenebris repetenda....

Other words and phrases Virgil left, as Quintilian would say, in the darkness of the past. I have mentioned fr. 23 M, presumably from the Dido episode:

blande et docte percontat,   Aenea\<s\> quo pacto
Troiam urbem liquerit....

Neither the verb *percontari* (or *percontare*) nor the expression *quo pacto* appears in Virgil, perhaps because they had become too pedestrian in his time, though *hoc pacto* is used, in a technical context, in the *Georgics* (II. 248). Virgil also seems to avoid *pollere* (fr. 30 M), though both Seneca (*Agam.* 805) and Lucan (*Phars.* IX. 795) accept it as a "poetic" word. On the other hand, Virgil does not hesitate to use expressions that must have had a colloquial flavor in his time, and he may have done so because Naevius had established, so to speak, their right of citizenship in the epic idiom. The famous verse *numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti* (*Aen.* II. 670), the last line of Aeneas' impassioned speech, echoes a passage from Naevius' play *The Trojan Horse* (fr. 13 R^3):[11]

numquam hodie effugies quin mea moriaris manu.

Both in Virgil and in Naevius the use of *numquam* for *non* and redundant *hodie* (added for emphasis) was felt to be colloquial, yet the effect is magnificent.

There is very slight evidence that Virgil took over archaic forms from Naevius that later were normalized in the textual tradition of the *Aeneid*, for instance the adjective *quies, quietis* (fr. 22 M) for *quietus* in *Aen.* XII. 559 *urbem / immunem belli atque impune quietam* where the Codex Romanus (5th century) has *quietem,* but I would hesitate to introduce the archaic form here or elsewhere.[12]

On the whole, considering the meager remains, Virgil seems to have borrowed a good deal from Naevius, not only from his epic but also from the tragedies. The *Trojan Horse* was mentioned already: this play was still performed in Cicero's time, and Virgil may have had it in mind when he wrote parts of *Aeneid* II. It is certainly no coincidence that in at least two instances Virgilian parallels help us to emend the

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[11]Leipzig 1897.

[12]Virgil does not use Naevius' expressive *augescit* (fr. 33 M). He does have *auget* (e.g. *Aen.* VII. 211). He replaces *uicissatim* (fr. 41 M) by *uicissim* (e.g. *Aen.* VI. 531).

text of Naevius' tragic fragments:

alte iubatos angues implexae (*in sese* codd. Nonii) gerunt, (*trag.* 18 R³)

where Bergk's emendation (*Opusc.* I. 331) can be supported by Virgil, *Georg.* IV. 482-83: *caeruleosque implexae crinibus anguis / Eumenides,* and

dubii ferventem per fretum intro currimus, (*trag.* 53)

where the MSS have *faventem* which is clearly impossible; Onions' suggestion is plausible not only because of Euripides *Iph. Taur.* 1386-87 νεὼς / λάβεσθε κώπαις ῥόθιά τ' ἐκλευκαίνετε, but also because of Virgil *Georg.* 1. 327 *implentur fossae et caua flumina crescunt / cum sonitu feruetque fretis spirantibus* (but R has *spumantibus*) *aequor.*

I can think of no better conclusion to this lecture than the epitaph which Naevius is supposed to have written for himself and which is quoted (fr. 64 M) by Gellius, *Noct. Att.* I. 24. 2 as an example of Campanian arrogance, *superbia Campana,* though he grudgingly admits that there is more than a little truth to it, "If it were right for immortals to weep for mortals, the divine Muses would weep for the poet Naevius; and so, after he was delivered to the treasure-house of Orcus, they forgot in Rome how to speak Latin":

> Inmortales mortales   si foret fas flere,
> flerent diuae Camenae   Naeuium poetam.
> itaque postquam est Orchi   traditus thesauro,
> obliti sunt Romae   loquier lingua Latina.

Some scholars think that this epitaph is from Varro's *Imagines,* composed by Varro himself; if so, one must admire his skill in imitating Naevius' style, with its striking alliterations and assonances, and in recreating Saturnians that have an authentic ring.

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7

Ennius and the Elegists

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Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis. This pentameter from Ovid's *Tristia* (II. 424) is often cited by historians of literature as a capsule summary of the Augustans' ambivalent attitude toward Ennius.[1] He had a powerful literary talent worthy of respect (*ingenio maximus*), but represented an archaic crudeness of style which they above all others had refined (*arte rudis*). Thus, Horace in his *Satires* once quotes a line and a half from the *Annales* to illustrate great poetry, while he criticizes Ennius' tragic metrics in the *Ars Poetica* and his *Annales* more generally in *Epistles* II. 1.[2] Virgil too, while he probably never actually said that his reading of Ennius was a search for gold in a dungheap,[3] nevertheless substantially refined the many Ennian passages which he imitated.[4] Some would say he even casts ironic light on the original at times.[5] Similarly, Propertius attributed to Ennius a *hirsuta corona* (IV. 1. 61), the crown perhaps signifying some degree of literary achievement, but only a rough one (*hirsuta*) compared with his own.

Of the two poles in this ambivalent attitude, the Augustan elegists Propertius and Ovid leaned heavily toward the negative. As poets who

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[1]E.g., C. O. Brink, "Ennius and the Hellenistic Worship of Homer," *American Journal of Philology* 93 (1972), p. 547: "the simple Augustan picture of the father of Roman poetry, *Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis.*"

[2]*Sat.* 1. 4. 60-61, *A.P.* 259-62, *Ep.* II. 1. 50-52. On Horace and Ennius see I. Vahlen, *Ennianae poesis reliquiae* (2nd ed., Leipzig 1903), pp. LVI-LIX; C. Pascal, "Orazio ed Ennio," *Rend. Inst. Lomb.,* ser. 2, 49 (1916), pp. 285-90; M. Conti, "Orazio e l'epos arcaico latino," *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 17 (1975), pp. 293-302.

[3]Cassiodorus, *Inst. div.* I. 1. 8 = [Donati] *vit. Verg.*, p. 31 (Brummer).

[4]For a sample of the ancient testimonia on the subject see E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro. Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig 1903), p. 359, note 1.

[5]E.g., J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Coll. Latomus 88, Brussels 1967), pp. 80 ff.

largely defined their genre, after Callimachus, in opposition to epic, they would of course tend to cast the acknowledged father of Roman epic in a bad light. After all, they were heirs of neoteric poetics in its purest form, a stance expressed by Cicero as the contempt of the *cantores Euphorionis* for his revered Ennius (*Tusc. disp.* 3. 45), and one illustrated by Catullus' scorn for a related work, the *Annales Volusi cacata carta* (36. 1 and 20; cf. 95. 7-8).

While these elegists' estimates of Ennius within these schemes are well-known — indeed, they are the stuff of histories and handbooks of literature — it is not often that their mentions and evocations of Ennius are studied closely in context and in relation to one another. This is the aim of the present paper, which seeks thereby to clarify some points in, and note some significant differences between, these two elegists' presentations of Ennius.

Propertius only mentions or evokes Ennius in pivotal programmatic poems, poems which somehow prepare for or announce a change in the direction of his poetry. The first explicit mention occurs in III. 3, the central elegy in the programmatic cycle opening the third Book in which Propertius seems to be re-examining the nature of his poetry. The re-examination is actually a restatement of his Callimachean ideals, but here it is much more formal, more self-conscious than in Books I and II, the use of Callimachean terminology more elaborate than before. At the opening of a book full of experimentation which greatly expands the limits of his elegy beyond the intensely subjective love-elegy of Books I and II, Propertius takes great pains to assert that his poetry will be no less Callimachean. In III. 3, another *recusatio* or rejection of epic in favor of his elegy, he goes so far as to picture himself in a situation like that of Callimachus in the *Aitia*-prologue: a dream of his consecration as a poet on Mount Helicon. The details of this imitation of Callimachus' prologue are well-known, if in part controversial,[6] and need not be dwelt on here. Suffice it to say that Propertius' scene is as much *aemulatio* of his Hellenistic mentor as *imitatio*. Apollo, for example, appears as a warning figure in both Callimachus and Propertius, but is part of the dream on Helicon only in Propertius. What is particularly significant, though, for the present investigation is that alongside the classic neoteric and elegiac initiation-scene[7] is placed the similar programmatic scene of the inspiration received by Ennius,

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[6]For thorough discussions with bibliography see W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom* (Hermes Einzelschr. 16, Wiesbaden 1960), pp. 221 ff., and A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965), pp. 125 ff.

[7]Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6. 3-5 and 64-73, Prop. II. 10, Hor. *Sat.* I. 10. 31-35; later Ovid *Am.* III. 1, *Ars* 1. 25-28.

the father of Roman epic.[8] In this, the most formal and elaborate of
Propertius' *recusationes,* he contemplates the fictional origins of both
the Callimachean poetics he embraces (the famous *non inflati somnia
Callimachi* that he had recommended to Lynceus, II. 34. 32) and the
tradition of Roman epic he rejects (the dream of Ennius).[9]

The poem actually begins with Propertius in a situation reminis-
cent of Ennius' dream at the opening of the *Annales,* a scene to which
he here explicitly refers (6). Ennius had dreamed that the shade of
Homer appeared to him either on Helicon or on Parnassus, where he
was informed that he was Homer reborn.[10] Although we can be far
from certain, his initiation may also have included a meeting with the
Muses, and perhaps even a drink from the sacred fount of inspiration.
Propertius dreamed that while he rested beside the fountain Hippocrene
on Helicon he felt himself able to begin an epic on the Alban kings (1-
4: *Visus eram...posse...*). Though the situation roughly parallels that of
Ennius, we are aware from the very outset that this is the world of
neoteric and elegiac poetics. *Visus eram molli recubans Heliconis in
umbra* (1). The opening line suggests a bucolic scene reminiscent of
Virgil's *Eclogues,* which are here echoed,[11] and the word *mollis* too fre-
quently appears as a catchword in elegiac poetics (e.g., I. 7. 19; II. 1. 2;
III. 1. 19). More importantly, the elegist is immediately struck by the
awesomeness of his contemplated task — *tantum operis* (4) — a condi-
tion which is further heightened by the following contrast (5) of his
tiny mouth (*parva ora*) with the mighty fountain it approaches (*magnis
fontibus*), the fountain "from which thirsting father Ennius drank" (6)
the inspiration for his epic poem. Propertius never actually drinks from
Hippocrene, and is anyway soon checked from such attempts at epic by
the Callimachean Apollo (13 ff.). After instruction from Apollo, and
then Calliope, the latter confirms his poetic status as an elegist with the

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[8] On Ennius' *Annales* elsewhere symbolizing epic poetry in general see H. D.
Jocelyn, "The Poems of Quintus Ennius," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der röm. Welt* 1. 2
(Berlin — New York 1972), p. 988, note 20.

[9] Ennius' prominence in III. 3 (and III. 1) may be a further hint that in Book III
"the same poet, writing essentially the same sort of poetry as before, relying on the same
sources of inspiration, will be turning to Roman subjects": D. Ross, *Backgrounds to Au-
gustan Poetry. Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (Cambridge 1975), p. 129, with reference to Prop.
III. 11 and III. 13.

[10] *Ann.* 5-15 V. On the problems of interpretation see especially O. Skutsch, *Studia
Enniana* (London 1968), pp. 18-29 and 125-28; and W. Suerbaum, *Untersuchungen zur
Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter* (Hildesheim 1968), pp. 46-113, with references to
previous scholarship.

[11] Cf. *Ecl.* 1. 1 (*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*), noted by Wimmel
(above, note 6), p. 244.

appropriate symbolic water. Rather than drinking deep and directly from Hippocrene, Propertius receives on his lips a sprinkling of what is called "the water of Philitas" (51-52; the poet is always associated by Propertius with Callimachus; cf. II. 34. 31-32; III. 1. 1). This water seems to come not straight from the gushing Hippocrene, but from a quiet pool of the same water in the Muses' grotto.[12] The inspiration demanded for elegy is slighter, but also more rarified and civilized, than that required for epic. The main theme of the poem, then, is that of the earlier *recusationes* II. 1 and II. 10: the elegist's inability, however much he might allegedly wish, to compose epic poetry. With the motif of the initiatory dream on Helicon and Propertius' elaborate water imagery the theme is here applied to the relevant great exemplars of the contrasted poetic genres. For the elegist the dream of Ennius must be corrected; it must become a Callimachean experience.

The sharp contrast drawn by Propertius between Ennian and Callimachean inspiration is by no means fair to Ennius, since, as recent studies have shown,[13] Ennius was himself deeply influenced by Hellenistic poetry, including that of Callimachus. In fact, in Ennius' own dream-scene there was most probably intended an allusion to the well-known dream of Callimachus, and that allusion may well have aimed to express Ennius' own debt to the great Alexandrian master or to Hellenistic literature in general. Elsewhere he seems to point to his affinity with the later Greek tradition when he boasts of himself as *dicti studiosus* (*Ann.* 216 V), a phrase that seems to latinize the Alexandrian ideal of the φιλόλογος.[14] It is of course also possible that such an allusion to the *Aitia*-prologue was to some extent a counter-polemic or anti-Callimachean allusion, since the dream-vision of *alter Homerus* directly counters Callimachus' influential rejection of the long, grand epic poem.[15] We know of Ennius' capacity for such literary polemic from his harsh remarks on his Latin predecessors in the prologue to *Annales* VII (213-17 V); and one need not have fully embraced *Callimachean* aesthetics to be *dicti studiosus*. If this view is correct, then Propertius here can be seen as rephrasing the same polemical contrast

[12]This is controversial. I follow the interpretation of G. Luck, *The Latin Love-Elegy* (London 1959), p. 133. *Contra,* e.g., Kambylis (above, note 6), pp. 183-88.

[13]E.g., Newman (above, note 5), pp. 64-77; G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968), pp. 696-99; J. E. G. Zetzel, "Ennian Experiments," *American Journal of Philology* 95 (1974), pp. 137-40; and P. Wülfing-von Martitz, "Ennius als hellenistischer Dichter," in *Ennius* (Fond. Hardt: Entretiens 17, Geneva 1972), pp. 253-89.

[14]See Suerbaum (above, note 10), pp. 271-75.

[15]*Aet.* fr. 1 Pf. For this view see especially W. Clausen, "Callimachus and Roman

found (perhaps only implicitly) in Ennius' prologue, though from his Callimachean and Augustan point of view.

In the text before us that point of view is discerned especially in the lines devoted exclusively to Ennius (6-12):

6   unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit;
       et cecinit Curios fratres et Horatia pila,
          regiaque Aemilia vecta tropaea rate,
       victricesque moras Fabii pugnamque sinistram
10   Cannensem et versos ad pia vota deos,
       Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantis,
          anseris et tutum voce fuisse Iovem.

On the face of it, the passage appears to set forth in a straightforward fashion a complimentary description of the poet and his poem which might have been written by Cicero. Ennius is called *pater* as the honored originator of the Roman epic tradition,[16] and the six-line list of the *Annales'* contents emphasizes their historical and nationalistic character: the Horatii and Curiatii of early Rome, the splendid triumphant return of an Aemilius, Fabius Cunctator, whose treatment by Ennius is echoed elsewhere in Augustan literature,[17] the catastrophe of Cannae, and Rome's miraculous salvation from disaster at the hands of Hannibal and the Gauls. All of these events either were or could have been included in the *Annales.* The naming of several Roman heroes by their family names together in the first half of the list may also suggest the widely alleged encomiastic quality of Ennius' epic narrative.[18] To Propertius' parade of Roman worthies, the Curii and Horatii, Aemilius and Fabius, may be compared Cicero's assessment in his speech for Archias (22): *omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur.* All of this seems to suggest an entirely positive estimation of Ennius on the part of Propertius. As Homer was for Callimachus, Ennius is for him admirable, but inimitable.

Yet the reader of these lines must also experience a certain befuddlement. Half of the events here mentioned from one of Rome's most famous poems seem somehow wrong. The family known elsewhere only as the Curiatii are here the Curii; the most natural interpretation

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Poetry," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964), pp. 185-87.

    [16]Cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 19. 7 and Kiessling — Heinze *ad loc.*

    [17]*Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* (*Ann.* 370 V); cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 846; Livy XXX. 26. 9; Ov. *Fast.* II. 242. See further Vahlen *ad loc.*

    [18]For the testimonia and a full discussion see Suerbaum (above, note 10), pp. 198-215 and 248.

of the victory in verse 8 took place after Ennius' death;[19] the Lares are nowhere else said to have driven Hannibal from Rome.[20] Commentators generally view these problems as arising from our, or Propertius', defective knowledge of the text of the *Annales*. Another possibility rarely considered is that Propertius has intentionally skewed his summary of Ennius' poem to ironize, however slightly, his apparently straightforward, laudatory account. Since Propertius has jumbled the chronology of the events to produce his own artistic arrangement — glorious Roman victories followed by *tempora graviora* and Rome's rescue therefrom[21] — it is not unlikely that some at least of these incongruities have an intended literary effect. Propertius elsewhere introduces discordant touches into a list of topics for an epic. In II. 1 his inclusion of *civilia busta* and *eversos focos antiquae gentis Etruscae* (27 and 29) among the emperor's praiseworthy exploits undercuts, though in a different way than that suggested for our passage, the entire epic catalogue. Furthermore, the reference to Ennius himself "thirsting" (*sitiens,* 6) seems immediately to make the Propertian admiration of *pater* Ennius ironic. This detail makes him humorously primitive or naive, especially when contrasted with the refined sensibilities of the elegiac *parva ora*. To go to Hippocrene thirsty suggests not only larger capabilities, but a lack of anything to begin with.[22]

If the interpretation outlined here is not wide of the mark, then Ennius in III. 3 corresponds, in the Callimachean scheme of things, more to cyclic or historical epic, which is to be rejected outright, than

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[19]"It is hard to believe that 8 refers to any lesser occasion than the return of L. Aemilius Paullus, the victor of Pydna...": D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Cambridge 1956), p. 139; "No other return of an Aemilius approached this in splendor, and it must be what P. has in mind..." (Richardson *ad loc.*). Other suggestions are the victories of Aemilii over Demetrius of Pharos in 219 and Antiochus in 190.

[20]Elsewhere the retreat of the Carthaginian forces is attributed to one of two minor deities, Tutanus or Rediculus. See Rothstein *ad loc.*

[21]On the structure of this passage see W. A. Baehrens, "Propertiana," *Philologus* 72 (1913), p. 275. Cf. Kambylis (above, note 6), pp. 133-36, who perceives a different structure.

[22]If a picture came to mind here, it would no doubt be the extravagant one in Lucretius' description of a man who, also in a dream, sits beside a stream or fountain thirsting (*sitiens*), and all but swallows the whole river (IV. 1024-25; a comparison made by S. Commager, *A Prolegomenon to Propertius* [Norman, Okla. 1974], p. 68, note 72). With *sitiens* Propertius may also be obliquely (and humorously) alluding to Ennius' apparently famous capacity for wine (an emblem of his superior *ingenium*), even though the inspirational beverage in the present instance is water. Horace comically refers to this at *Ep.* I. 19. 7-8: *Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma / prosiluit dicenda.* For this interpretation see W. Richter, *Römische Dichter* (Frankfurt 1958), p. 79, note 1, cited by Suerbaum (above, note 10), p. 234, note 690, and Wimmel (above, note 6), p. 244.

to the inimitable Homer. In the context of the whole poem this sample of the *Annales'* contents thus foreshadows the list of epic topics in Calliope's admonitory address (40-46), where martial Roman historical subjects are emphatically decried.

Ennius is recalled in a similar context, though in a different fashion, in Propertius III. 1, the first poem in the cycle and one which in many ways prepares for III. 3. Again developing the contrast between epic and elegy, Propertius weaves Callimachean terminology into a magnificent sequence of travel images which proudly assert his own poetic achievement (9 ff.). Inverting the epic associations of the Roman triumph, he rides like a general *triumphans,* the Cupids at his side, a crowd of writers close behind (9-12). Next the chariot is successfully racing against his poetic rivals (13), whom he tells, transferring an image of Callimachus (fr. 1. 25-28 Pf) to a novel context, that it is not possible to ride to the Muses by a wide road (*non datur ad Musas currere lata via,* 14). At the conclusion to the section he identifies the sort of poets who travel the *lata via,* and he sharpens the contrast between their poetry and his own (15-20):

> 15   multi, Roma, tuas laudes annalibus addent,
>   qui finem imperii Bactra futura canent.
>   sed, quod pace legas, opus hoc de monte Sororum
>   detulit intacta pagina nostra via.
>   mollia, Pegasides, date vestro serta poetae:
>   non faciet capiti dura corona meo.

> Many, O Rome, will add praises of you to the annals, singing that Bactra will be the limit of your empire. But my page has brought this work down from the mount of the Muses by an untrodden path, that you may read it in peace. Give soft garlands to your poet, Muses; a harsh crown will not suit my head.

The "many" here are of course the writers of encomiastic historical epic who will follow in the footsteps of Ennius. In the present programmatic context the word *annalibus* would almost certainly call Ennius' own epic to the Augustan reader's mind.[23] But the contrast here is not simply the Callimachean contrast of styles. As Clausen and others have pointed out,[24] the rejection of epic by Roman poets was often moral as well as stylistic, as is brought out here by the mention of the contemporary Parthian campaign (16) and by Propertius'

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[23]This is pointed out by W. Nethercut, "The Ironic Priest. Propertius' 'Roman Elegies,' III, I-5," *American Journal of Philology* 91 (1970), p. 391, who views Propertius here and in III. 3 "as an anti-Ennius."

[24]Clausen (above, note 15), pp. 193-96; see further Commager (above, note 22), pp. 46 ff.

characterization of his own as a poetry of peace (17).

There is a fuller evocation of Ennius in this passage, however, than that in the single word *annalibus*. The *Gedankengang* and language of the following two couplets again call Ennius to mind, this time through an allusion to Lucretius' description of Ennius' achievement in epic.[25] In what must have been a well-known passage Lucretius referred to "our Ennius...who first brought down from Helicon the crown of eternal leaves, that it might have glorious renown throughout the Italian tribes of mankind" (*Ennius...noster...qui primus amoeno / detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam / per gentis Italas hominum quae clara clueret,* I. 117-19). From the context we know he is speaking chiefly of the *Annales.* There is no way to tell whether the image derives from Ennius himself or is simply Lucretius' own figurative language, ultimately based on Hesiod's descent from Helicon with a wondrous staff (*Theog.* 30-31). In either case, Propertius seems clearly to allude to the Lucretian passage. The echo one might think one perceives in the similar combination of a crown with a return from the Muses' mountain is enhanced by the appearance in both of initial *detulit* and the word *corona,* and this after *annalibus* just above. The effect of this echo is a quite striking one and can be fully appreciated only in the light of one of the poem's major thematic patterns. Propertius seems to appropriate to his elegy the image applied by Lucretius to the great exemplar of Roman epic, just as he arrogates to himself the heroic role of the *triumphator,* and just as later in the poem he illustrates his claim to immortality with the example of Homer (33-34).[26] The point of all this is an insistence on his elegy's equality with, if not its superiority to, epic poetry. By evoking Ennius here, then, Propertius challenges Ennius' alleged return from Helicon with that of his own *pagina.* It is Propertius who is *primus* here, while Ennius is associated with the *multi* travelling the *lata via.*[27] Likewise, Propertius asks the Muses for a crown, but

[25]See Nethercut (above, note 23), p. 391.

[26]For this interpretation see especially Commager (above, note 22), p. 43. He also thinks, along with Nethercut (above, note 23), that verse 24 (*maius ab exsequiis nomen in ora venit*) imitates Ennius' epitaph (*Varia* 18 V: *...volito vivos per ora virum*). But if Ennius comes to mind in verse 24, he most probably does so through the mediation of Virg. *Georg.* III. 8-9 (*temptanda via est, qua me quoque possim / tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora;* the beginning of his triumph), the first half of which is recalled at the opening of Propertius' triumph (9: *quo me Fama levat terra sublimis...*). The phrase *in ora venire* is found elsewhere in Propertius (II. 1. 2; III. 9. 32, where Ennius' epitaph is definitely echoed).

[27]It is this that differentiates Propertius here from Lucretius at I. 921 ff. and Virgil in *Georgics* III. 8 ff., both of whom echo and / or evoke Ennius in declarations of their own originality, but without the Propertian contrast with Ennius. Both passages are re-

not the sort Ennius would have brought down from Helicon. The eleg-
ist should be wreathed with *mollia serta,* soft garlands of flowers,
appropriate to the delicate private world of love and peace and the
slender style which describes that world. No *dura corona* for him,
perhaps a wreath of laurel or a gold crown like those of the Roman *tri-
umphator,* in any case suggestive of the severe matter and manner of
epic, a genre which Propertius elsewhere calls *durus versus* (II. 1. 41).
Since Ennius is in mind here, we may not be wrong to follow Camps'
suggestion (*ad loc.*) that *dura corona* may also obliquely allude to the
technical roughness of early Roman epic, and so reinforce Propertius'
demand above for poetic refinement (*exactus tenui pumice versus eat,* 8).

    A more explicit reference to the unrefined quality of Ennius'
verse, of which Ovid will make so much, occurs in a later programmatic
elegy of Propertius. This is a passage near the end of IV. 1A, the first
in the pair of introductory poems to Book IV, and the one in which the
poet announces a new elegy devoted to Roman themes, his aetiological
elegies. The context is worthy of close scrutiny, both because of the
difficulty of the passage and because it combines the ideas and images
in the two earlier evocations of Ennius. After reflecting on early rural
Rome and its contrast with the city's present splendor, and expressing
his amazement at the providence that allowed the Trojans to reach
Italy, Propertius concludes by announcing his intention to write on
national Roman themes (55-58):

55   optima nutricum nostris, lupa Martia, rebus,
           qualia creverunt moenia lacte tuo!
       moenia namque pio coner disponere versu:
           ei mihi, quod nostro est parvus in ore sonus!

He speaks of such a program as equivalent to writing an epic. His
wonder at the greatness of Rome's walls immediately suggests to him
the greatness of the poetic task he contemplates. To write of Rome's
walls demands epic ability! The image of laying out the walls was
perhaps partly designed to refer to the topographical focus of the aetio-
logical poems, all of which are concerned with monuments or places in
the city, but it is also charged with epic associations. In the *recusatio*
III. 9 the *caeso moenia firma Remo* (50) were among the epic topics
listed, and we remember *altae moenia Romae* at the opening of the
Aeneid (I. 7). The same is true of *pio versu,* to which we may compare,
for example, the *laudes* of Rome in III. 1. 15 which many will add to
the annals. He also speaks of this project as an attempt, *coner* (which I

called in our poem: on Virgil's see above note 26; cf. Lucr. I. 929 (*insignemque meo capiti
petere inde coronam*) and Prop. III. 1. 20 (*non faciet capiti dura corona meo*).

take to mean "let me try" rather than "should I try"), just as in III. 3 he attempted to drink from the mighty fountain with his *parva ora*. Here too the poet is struck by the inappropriateness of an elegist's *parvus sonus* tackling such topics. *Tantum operis!*

At this point the reader of Propertius' earlier books waits for the *excusatio* to become a *recusatio*. But Propertius' trepidation before the present task leads instead to a reaffirmation of his resolve to write *pio versu: sed tamen exiguo quodcumque e pectore rivi / fluxerit, hoc patriae serviet omne meae* ("But nevertheless, whatever stream flows from my tiny breast, all this will be devoted to my country," 59-60). As always in Propertius, the self-depreciation here is only apparent. We realize this when we notice that the slight stream from a small breast alludes to the ὀλίγη λιβάς at the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (2. 112). The stream is slight, but it is the choicest of waters, far preferable to the broad ocean and the muddy Euphrates signifying cyclic epic. The allusion suggests that, though his inspiration is small, it is still what he prefers. His *pius versus* will be Callimachean.

It is the undertone provided by this allusion which gives rise to the following couplets, where the oblique reference becomes a proud declaration of his Callimachean style (61-64):

> Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona:
>   mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua,
> ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Vmbria libris,
>   Vmbria Romani patria Callimachi!

As before, an acceptance of Callimachus means a rejection of Ennius. Here the two are both mentioned by name, conspicuously framing the sentence. The contrast of crowns in III. 1 is repeated, but here the emphasis is on stylistic refinement. "Let Ennius wreathe his verses with a shaggy (or rugged) crown, for me the ivy of Bacchus," the latter suggestive of his Callimachean inspiration.[28] This is Propertius' most direct and his rudest dismissal of Ennius. Although *corona* does admit of some achievement on Ennius' part, its positive connotations are all but obliterated by *hirsuta*. If III. 1 and its allusion to Lucretius are in mind here, then the rejection is more contemptuous still. "Let Ennius

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[28]For Propertius' association with Bacchus see II. 30. 38-39 (also ivy; cf. II. 5. 26); III. 2. 9; III. 17; IV. 6. 76; cf. Call. *ep.* 7 Pf and the discussions of E. Maass, "Untersuchungen zu Properz und seinen griechischen Vorbildern," *Hermes* 31 (1896), pp. 375 ff. and P. Boyancé, "Properce," in *L'influence grecque sur la poésie latine de Catulle à Ovide* (Fond. Hardt: Entretiens 2, Geneva 1953), pp. 169 ff. C. W. Macleod argues differently that the address to Bacchus here (compared with Call. *ep.* 7) and *tumefacta* in line 63 reverse Callimachean motifs ("Propertius 4,1," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar*, 1976, ed. F. Cairns, pp. 144-45).

wreathe his poems with that shaggy crown he brought back from Heli-con." Alfonsi[29] would make it even more scornful, since he sees in *sua dicta* a playful reference to Ennius' claim to be *dicti studiosus* (*Ann.* 216 V). But while *dictum* is used of poetry only here by Propertius, such usage is not unparalleled elsewhere outside of Ennius (e.g., Lucr. I. 126; V. 56).

The reason for the particular vehemence of this dismissal is that Propertius in the present circumstances realizes his closeness to Ennius, or to what Ennius represented in III. 1 and III. 3. Propertius has now accepted topics of national significance, which he refers to in epic terms, and in this and three of the other aetiological poems he speaks in a solemn patriotic persona suggestive of epic.[30] Yet for all this he insists that his model will be Callimachus, not Ennius. He will write antiquarian elegies along the lines of the *Aitia: sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum* (69). And above all else, his style will be Cal-limachean, in contrast not only to primitive epic poetry — which is the primary reference of *hirsuta corona* — but also to the "rough" style of epic in general. The *hirsuta corona* would share this connotation with the *dura corona* of III. 1. 20. As Margaret Hubbard recently pointed out,[31] the Roman elegies of the *Callimachus Romanus* are all con-sciously and aggressively modern (and so anti- or counter-epic) in their application of the elegiac manner to national Roman topics. That aggressiveness is here embodied in the flat rejection of the great exem-plar of Roman epic.

When we turn from Propertius to the more voluminous and varied elegiac corpus of Ovid, our investigation must immediately take a new factor into account, namely, that Ovid makes greater use than Propertius did of Ennius' actual poetry.[32] It should be further noted in this connection that these Ennian reminiscences in Ovid are not re-stricted to the *Annales*. Ovid had a considerable interest in tragedy, an interest that included the archaic Latin tragedians as well as their Greek

[29]L. Alfonsi, "Note Properziane," *Hermes* 83 (1955), pp. 383-84.

[30]I.e. IV. 4, 6, 10. See J. F. Miller, "Callimachus and the Augustan Aetiological Elegy," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der röm. Welt* 2. 30 (1982), pp. 383 ff.

[31]*Propertius* (New York 1975), pp. 121-36.

[32]Echoes are collected by A. Zingerle, *Ovidius und sein Verhältnis zu den Vorgängern und gleichzeitigen römischen Dichtern* (Innsbruck 1869-1871), II, pp. 1-11, to which add S. Mariotti, "Un'imitazione enniana in Ovidio," in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* (Coll. La-tomus 101: Brussels 1969), I, pp. 608-09 (*Met.* XIV. 301 and *Ann.* 570 V) and F. Mor-gante, "A proposito di una nuova interpretazione del giudizio di Ovidio su Ennio," *Rivis-ta di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 15 (1973), p. 74 (*Met.* VI. 487 and *Ann.* 1 V; but cf. also Virg. *Aen.* X. 216).

predecessors. He himself composed a Latin *Medea,* following the precedent of Ennius. Regarding his nondramatic works, it has been shown not only that several Republican tragedies had a strong influence on certain portions of the *Metamorphoses,*[33] as they had on Virgil's epic earlier, but also that the epistles of Paris and Helen in the *Heroides* are indebted to Ennius' *Alexander.*[34] As one might expect, however, the latter indebtedness seems also to contain a humorous application of the model. Howard Jacobson has noted that the Ennian treatment of the burning firebrand in Hecuba's dream, signifying that Paris would bring fiery destruction upon Troy, is in Ovid's story also echoed in the elegiac, erotic context of Paris' burning passion for Helen.[35]

This example brings to mind a second reason for the occasional Ennian touches in Ovid's elegiac works. Ovid is a master of parody who ranges widely in his mock-solemn echoes of serious ancient literature. This is particularly true of the *Ars amatoria,* where a favorite example is the use of the Ennian phrase *Romana iuventus.* In the remains of the *Annales* the phrase occurs three times at line's end. The young Roman soldiers are courageous (*cum pulchris animis,* 550 V); they approach the walls (537), perhaps in some battle; they — in a bold Ennian phrase — "dry themselves off from sleep" (469). In Ovid we find: *disce bonas artes, moneo, Romana iuventus* (I. 459). The noble Roman youth of today are solemnly enjoined by the *magister amoris* to get a good liberal education, because of its efficacy in love. The high-sounding Ennian phrase accentuates the already mock-serious situation. A similar example is found in *Amores* II. 11, which begins with echoes of the opening lines of Ennius' *Medea* (*Sc.* fr. 246-54 V) as well as of their later rendition in Catullus 64 (1 ff.). Ovid bewails the sea voyage of his mistress Corinna with the language of the tragic nurse lamenting the departure of her very different sort of mistress.[36]

Such Ennian echoes in the amatory elegies are few and play but a small role in the very broad parody of other literature. The same is true of the Ennian reminiscences in Ovid's poetic calendar, the *Fasti,* his version of Propertius' Roman elegies. Ovid's poem shares some of the *Annales'* topics, such as Egeria (III. 261 ff.; cf. *Ann.* 119 V) and

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[33]See G. D'Anna, "La tragedia latina arcaica nelle 'Metamorfosi'," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ovidiano* (Rome 1959), 2, pp. 217-34, and H. MacL. Currie, "Ovid and the Roman Stage," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der röm. Welt* 2. 31. 4 (1981), pp. 2701-15.

[34]H. Jacobson, "Ennian Influence in *Heroides* 16 and 17," *Phoenix* 22 (1968), pp. 299-303.

[35]16. 3-8; *op. cit.* (above, note 34), p. 302.

[36]*Am.* II. 11. 1-6. See A. G. Lee, "*Tenerorum Lusor Amorum,*" *Critical Essays on Roman Literature. Elegy and Lyric,* ed. J. P. Sullivan (London 1962), pp. 167-68.

Romulus and Remus (II. 365 ff.; cf. *Ann.* 73-75), and once he quotes an entire line which most scholars take to be from the *Annales: unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli* (*Ann.* 65; II. 487; cf. *Met.* XIV. 814), spoken by Jupiter to Mars concerning the apotheosis of Romulus, where it probably also appeared in Ennius' poem. Otherwise the few Ennian echoes are mostly of phraseology,[37] simply a part of the epic idiom which Ovid is here adapting to elegy. Along with the many more similar reminiscences of Virgil and Lucretius,[38] they add a certain epic flavor and *dignitas* to the treatment of national topics, as did Tibullus' one imitation of Ennius to the solemn praise of Messala in I. 7.[39] But there is no evidence of extended imitation of Ennius in the *Fasti* of the sort found in the *Aeneid,* which is only to be expected. For, although Ovid speaks of the *Fasti* as a major work (II. 3; IV. 3 and 10), as did Propertius of his Roman elegies in IV. 1, he also follows his elegiac predecessor in adopting as his major model Callimachus' *Aitia* (I. 1: *Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum*).

For all this, the presence of even these few Ennian touches in the *Fasti* may be significant, as compared with their apparent absence in Propertius IV. They of course reflect the wider orbit of Ovid's literary interests; he was writing the "epic" *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* at about the same time. They can also be associated, I believe, with a difference in the two elegists' methods for achieving an elegiac equivalent to epic narrative. As was noted above (p. 287), the *aitia* of Propertius are aggressively counter-epic in their style, relentlessly applying the techniques and modern attitudes of elegy to his Roman themes. Ovid's approach achieves a similar modernization of Roman history and legend, but does so in part by incorporating the traditional features and

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[37]See F. Bömer's commentary, vol. 2 (Heidelberg 1957), Index s.v. *Ennius.*

[38]Often it is difficult to determine whether the "Ennianisms" come directly from Ennius or from an intermediary. For example, in Ovid's description of the famous battle of the Fabii (II. 195 ff.), which earns three references to Ennius in Bömer's commentary, the phrase *celeri passu* (205) is attested elsewhere only in Ennius *Ann.* 71 V, while the couplet 235-36 (*una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes: / ad bellum missos perdidit una dies*) reflects Lucr. V. 999-1000 (*at non multa virum sub signis milia ducta / una dies dabat exitio*) at least as much as it does Ennius *Ann.* 287 (*multa dies in bello conficit unus*); similarly, Ovid's concluding reference to Fabius Cunctator (241-42: *scilicet ut posses olim tu, Maxime, nasci, / cui res cunctando restituenda foret*) is closer to Virgil's imitation at *Aen.* VI. 845-46 (*...tu Maximus ille es, / unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem*) than to the Ennian original (above, note 17).

[39]Tib. I. 7. 12, apparently echoing *Ann.* 384-85 V. See J. P. Elder, "Tibullus, Ennius, and the Blue Loire," *Trans. Am. Philol. Ass.* 96 (1965), pp. 97-105.

language of epic,[40] which would include those of *pater* Ennius. Where
Propertius ignores or twists the features of epic, Ovid adapts them to
the more accommodating world of his elegy.

With the fact that Ovid uses Ennius' poetry, however sparingly,
one might be tempted to associate his somewhat more favorable esti-
mation of Ennius. For, in spite of the fact that Ovid shared the Proper-
tian (and Horatian) view of the archaic poet as artless, he also explicitly
acknowledged the powerful poetic talent of Ennius (*ingenio maximus*).
But one should not make too much out of these few echoes, nor should
one exaggerate the positive aspects of Ovid's explicit references to
Ennius.[41] The Ovidian treatment of Ennius certainly differs in impor-
tant respects from that of Propertius, but the latter's view is broadened
and to some extent qualified, rather than actually contradicted.

Ovid mentions Ennius or the *Annales* by name four times, twice
in Book II of the *Tristia,* once each in the *Ars* and *Amores.* For him
Ennius is perhaps above all else the quintessential, venerable Roman
classic. In the *Ars amatoria,* for instance, Ennius' burial next to Scipio
is cited as evidence of the great honor formerly bestowed upon poets
(III. 405-12). That Ennius "earned" (*emeruit,* 409) this respected posi-
tion illustrates the *sancta*[42] *maiestas* and *venerabile nomen* (407) readily
given in olden times, but so sorely lacking in Ovid's own day. To some
readers it may seem ironic that a love-elegist unabashedly appeals to the
fama of the great exemplar of historical Roman epic. But such is the
irony of literary history, not of the text itself. Ennius is not marked
out here as the poet of war or history or epic, or even tragedy. He is
the exemplary, famous old poet, a Roman classic. Likewise, Ovid in
this passage, which is a digression, does not speak as *praeceptor amoris,*
nor as elegist, but simply as a contemporary poet.

A more complex mention of Ennius, again without reference to
his genre or subject matter, is found in *Amores* I. 15. The elegy is the
last in Book I, and so is appropriately programmatic, having as its topic
Ovid's immortality through his poetry. He alludes to Propertius' treat-

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[40]See, e.g., Hubbard (above, note 31), p. 134, comparing Propertius and Ovid's
Fasti.

[41]As was done recently by F. Bertini, "Ov. *am.* I 15, 19 e il giudizio ovidiano su
Ennio," *Bollettino di Studi Latini* 2 (1972), pp. 3-9; see earlier Zingerle (above, note 32),
2, pp. 1-2.

[42]It is interesting to note that Cicero reports that Ennius himself called poets *sancti*
(*Pro Archia* 18): *quare suo iure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poetas, quod quasi deorum
aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur.* See Suerbaum (above, note 10),
pp. 263-64.

ment of the theme in III. 1[43] analyzed above, thereby helping to perpetuate his predecessor's memory, but also inviting comparison with the earlier elegist's presentation of Ennius (and Callimachus). The reference to Ennius is brief, but significant. At the opening of a list of Roman authors who have achieved immortality through their works is put *Ennius arte carens* (19). F. Bertini attempted to prove that the phrase *arte carens* here is laudatory, and means *sine artificio*, "without artifice" or "simple."[44] But the words certainly mean "without art" or "unpolished" and should be read concessively.[45] "Though unrefined, Ennius will always be famous." As a refutation of the positive interpretation one need but recall the assessment of Callimachus a few lines above (13-14): *Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe: / quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.* In the pentameter's contrast, involving the common juxtaposition of *ingenium* and *ars, arte* is the positive member, which makes the phrase *arte carens* negative, an Ovidian equivalent of Propertius' *hirsuta corona.*

It is no accident that the couplet on Callimachus is recalled in the mention of Ennius, since the two authors are, as we have seen, naturally contrasted by an elegist. Ovid further associates the two here by concentrating exclusively on their poetic powers and craft, in contrast to the treatment of most of the other poets in the list. This makes them stand out in an even sharper opposition to one another. As in Propertius, Callimachus is the poet of refinement (*arte valet*), Ennius the one without it (*arte carens*). But what is most striking here and most unlike the Propertian position is that both Ennius and Callimachus are criticized. Indeed, these are the only two authors in the list of thirteen whose mention involves any qualification. Now in spite of Ovid's frequent references to his own *ingenium*, he obviously felt a close kinship with Callimachus. In the present poem he hints at that kinship by making his own wish for immortality correspond exactly to the passage on Callimachus. Compare verse 8 *quaeritur, in toto semper ut orbe canar,* with verse 13 on Callimachus, *Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe.* Yet he also criticizes Callimachus as lacking *ingenium.* This critique of Callimachus by an admitted Callimachean has bewildered some scholars, but I think that Ovid no doubt intended it to be somewhat shocking. What it does is to set the revered master of elegy in a larger perspective, which is also achieved by placing him in a list of assorted authors. Although this list reflects Callimachean poetics, as in the mention of

[43]Cf. *Am.* I. 15. 39-42 and Prop. III. 1. 21-24. See K. Morgan, *Ovid's Art of Imitation. Propertius in the Amores* (Leiden 1977), p. 23.

[44]Above, note 41, especially pp. 4-6.

[45]See Morgante (above, note 32), pp. 69-70.

Ennius, it does not develop the familiar contrast of epic and elegy found in Propertius and elsewhere in Ovid's own elegies. Instead — and this is what makes Ovid's boast even greater than Propertius' — Ovid sets himself in the broader world of all ancient literature: epic, elegy, comedy, tragedy, pastoral and didactic. And for the Roman that world would of course include Ennius, whom he criticizes, as one would expect of a Callimachean of sorts, but whom he does not here challenge in the Propertian fashion. Ennius heads the list of Roman classics which Ovid proudly asserts he will someday join. Not inappropriately, the initial position of Ennius corresponds to that of Homer (9-10) in the catalogue of Greek poets,[46] an association which reaches back ultimately to *alter Homerus* himself.

Just as Ennius is an important figure in Propertius' definitions of his poetry in Books III and IV, so his name is invoked in *Tristia* II in Ovid's defense of his poetry, or, more specifically, his *carmen,* the *Ars amatoria.* At one point the exiled poet argues that, besides the numerous examples of erotic themes in Greek literature which he has just discussed, Roman literature too has *multa iocosa,* many playful or frivolous things (421-22). He first mentions serious poetry to suggest that it represents but one side of Roman literature. As befits one elsewhere called *pater,* Ennius is put first (423-28):

> utque suo Martem cecinit gravis Ennius ore,
> Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis:
> 425   explicat ut causas rapidi Lucretius ignis,
> casurumque triplex vaticinatur opus:
> sic sua lascivo cantata est saepe Catullo
> femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat.

Just as Ennius sang of battle with the appropriate voice — Ennius mighty in genius, but rude in art — and just as Lucretius explains the origins of the devouring flame and prophesies that the threefold structure of the world will collapse, so playful Catullus often sang of his mistress, falsely called Lesbia.

A long list of other erotic authors follows (429-66). For the first time in Ovid Ennius is characterized as an epic poet writing on martial themes (*Martem cecinit*), which we recall was significant for Propertius. But here there is no Propertian contrast of the elegy of peace and the historical epic celebrating war. Here war is only important as a serious topic, like the cosmic destruction in Lucretius, and unlike the *multa iocosa* which follow. In fact, Ovid is not really contrasting epic and elegy here at all, but serious and playful or erotic literature. The latter

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[46]This is noted by Bertini (above, note 41), p. 4.

is not even restricted to poetry, but includes Sisenna's prose transla-
tions of Aristides' *Milesian Tales* (443-44). Again Ovid's is the broader
view of ancient literature. Thus, while Propertius always isolates
Ennius as the representative of Roman epic or an unrefined style,
thereby making the contrast with himself all the sharper, in the Ovidian
passages which contain an evaluation of Ennius the archaic poet is
never mentioned apart from other poets. In *Amores* I. 15 Ennius *arte
carens* was paired with the tragedian Accius and then associated with a
larger group of Roman authors. Here and in the final passage to be dis-
cussed he is linked with Lucretius.

As suits a formal argument, Ovid's reference to Ennius here is
more plainly expressed than those in Propertius' elaborate and ironic
proclamations of his literary credo. Both praise and blame are set forth
directly. Ennius is *gravis,* a word which suggests the seriousness and
elevation of epic, but which refers primarily to his character, "vener-
able," "great."[47] Matching this impressive stature is his mighty talent
— *ingenio maximus.* Yet he was unpolished, *arte rudis,* a variation of
Ovid's earlier phrase, *arte carens.* In the pentameter we have the exact
opposite of his evaluation of Callimachus in *Amores* I. 15, who was
weak in *ingenium,* but strong in *ars.* Both authors are presented in a
balanced fashion, as was Ennius also, if somewhat differently, in the
earlier poem. There, though lacking in art, he was immortal. But in
both cases Ennius' lack of art seems to be the most important factor for
Ovid.[48] In *Amores* I. 15 *arte carens* suggested a contrast with the
admired, if imperfect, Callimachus. Here too *arte rudis* appears to
operate in a wider context. Its qualification of the first mentioned
example of serious literature seems to help tip the scales in favor of the
iocosa, as does the much more expansive list of "frivolous" authors
that ensues, and that we know will ensue before Ennius and Lucretius
are mentioned.

Some 150 lines earlier in *Tristia* II Ovid develops another argu-
ment involving Ennius which shows that he himself can still be *iocosus.*
He proceeds to answer the objection that, while the *Ars amatoria* was
not intended for *matronae,* a Roman matron could still use the erotic
instruction aimed at others (253-54).

> If that is the case, then let her read nothing, because all poetry can
> provide sinful knowledge. Why, let her take up the *Annales* of En-

[47]See G. Luck, *P. Ovidius Naso. Tristia* (Heidelberg 1967 and 1977), 1. 93
("würdige") and 2. 141 *ad loc.*

[48]For a different view see Zingerle (above, note 32), 2, p. 2, and Morgante (above,
note 32), pp. 71-73.

nius — there is nothing ruder than they; she'll of course read by
whom Ilia was made a parent. When she takes up Lucretius' poem,
with its opening *Aeneadum genetrix,* she'll ask by whom Venus be-
came *Aeneadum genetrix,* the mother of the Romans.
(255-62, paraphrased)

Ennius' poem is again introduced as a classic serious work. Yet Ovid's
argument is obviously not serious at all. Not only is the *Ars amatoria* in
form a lover's handbook, but Ovid himself elsewhere in *Tristia* II face-
tiously claims that other venerable classics are actually erotic works.
"What is the *Iliad,*" he asks at one point, "but an adulteress over
whom her lover and husband fought?" (371-72). Thus, although
Ovid's argument here is a *reductio ad absurdum* of an anticipated objec-
tion, its real aim is to perform for the *Annales* and Lucretius' work a
reductio ad amorem.[49] He makes this even more outrageous by singling
out two national myths associated with the foundation of Rome. We
can imagine from the substantial fragment of Ilia's dream preserved by
Cicero (*De div.* I. 20. 40-41 = *Ann.* 35-51 V) and a few other scraps
(*Ann.* 52-59) that her story figured prominently in the *Annales.* In
Ovid's trivialization of Ennius it is only the rape by Mars that is
significant, an erotic event that associates Ennius' poem with his own.
Both could be misunderstood or misused by a naughty woman so
inclined.

Most of this is simply good Ovidian fun and offers no judgment
on Ennius. But there is an evaluation here, emphatically negative,
again stated parenthetically, and again focusing on Ennius' lack of art.
Nihil est hirsutius illis (259). For the third time Ovid singles out the
archaic poet's lack of art, here with an obvious echo of Propertius'
judgment in *hirsuta corona* (IV. 1. 61). As often happens with such
allusions, Ovid's *hirsutius* goes beyond the reference to style in Proper-
tius' phrase to include the content of the *Annales* as well.[50] "Let her
take up the *Annales* — there is nothing shaggier or less appealing, noth-
ing further from the world of my elegies than they." Since *hirsutus* and
the related *hirtus* frequently appear in rustic contexts,[51] there may also
be a suggestion of the rustic world of the *Annales,* as in the narrative of
Rome's earliest days. This would surely be a crowning touch by the

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[49]For the use of this phrase referring to the same Ovidian technique in other works
see G. K. Galinsky, *Ovid's Metamorphoses. An Introduction to the Basic Aspects* (Berkeley
and Los Angeles 1975), p. 30, and J. B. Solodow, "Ovid's *Ars Amatoria:* the Lover as
Cultural Ideal," *Wiener Studien* 90 (1977), p. 112.

[50]See Luck (above, note 47), 2. 122 *ad loc.*

[51]E.g., (*hirsutus*) *Am.* III. 10. 7; *A.A.* I. 108; *Met.* XIII. 766; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 34; *Georg.*
III. 231; (*hirtus*) *Met.* XIII. 927; Virg. *Georg.* III. 287.

poet whose urbane love-elegies glorified the cultivated present and often mocked the *rusticitas* of the olden days that was so romantically evoked by his contemporaries.[52]

To sum up briefly, for the elegists the name of Ennius always called forth a contrast, of epic with elegy, or war with peace, solemn with erotic literature, a crude style with their own polish. Propertius uses Ennius as an important negative symbol in programmatic elegies, where he is always set opposite Callimachus or Callimachean ideals. Therefore, he is always associated with images of poetic inspiration or achievement such as the dream of initiation, the return from Helicon, and the poet's crown. Ennius is for Propertius the great exemplar of Roman epic, particularly its martial character, its lofty style, and its technical roughness in the archaic period, all of which Propertius challenges with his elegy. The so-called artlessness of Ennius is even more strongly emphasized by Ovid, who also introduces him into discussions of his own poetry. For Ovid too Ennius is diametrically opposed to Callimachus, but Ovid broadens the Propertian view of both Ennius and Callimachus, as well as of ancient literature in general. Though Ennius is lacking in art, he is also great in genius and immortal. Along with this wider focus comes a more distanced treatment, as compared with that of Propertius, and a diminution of Ennius' importance as a foil in elegiac poetics. But then Ovid in general plays with the poetic problems that Propertius wrestled with. Many Propertian distinctions are levelled or jettisoned, and Ennius, the great Propertian representative of epic and martial themes, becomes, more simply, a defective Roman classic.[53]

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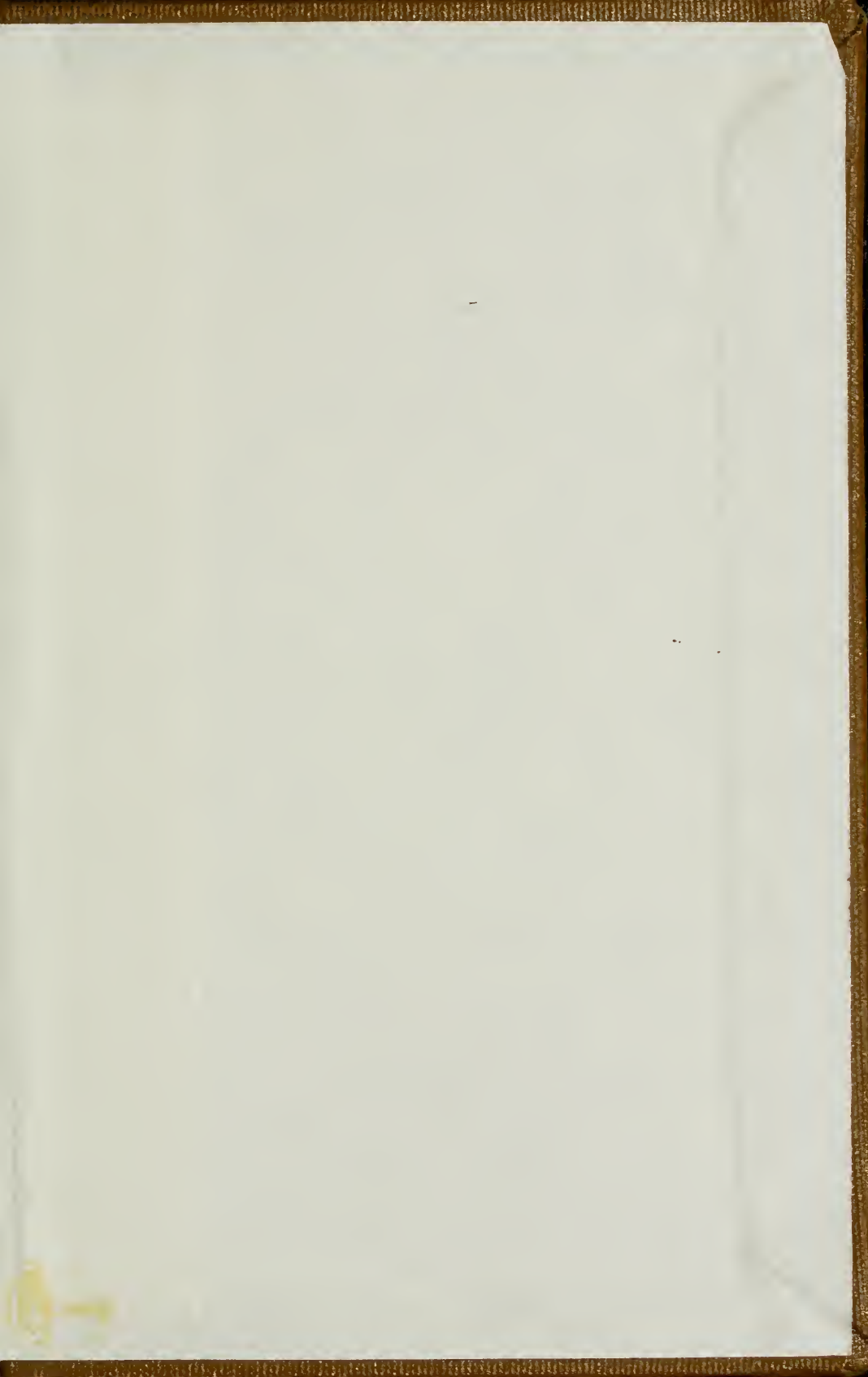
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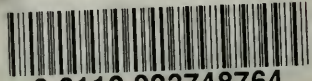### P.O. BOX 4869, HAMPDEN STATION, BALTIMORE, MD 21211

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